THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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VOLUME XXXII APRIL 1948 NUMBER 2

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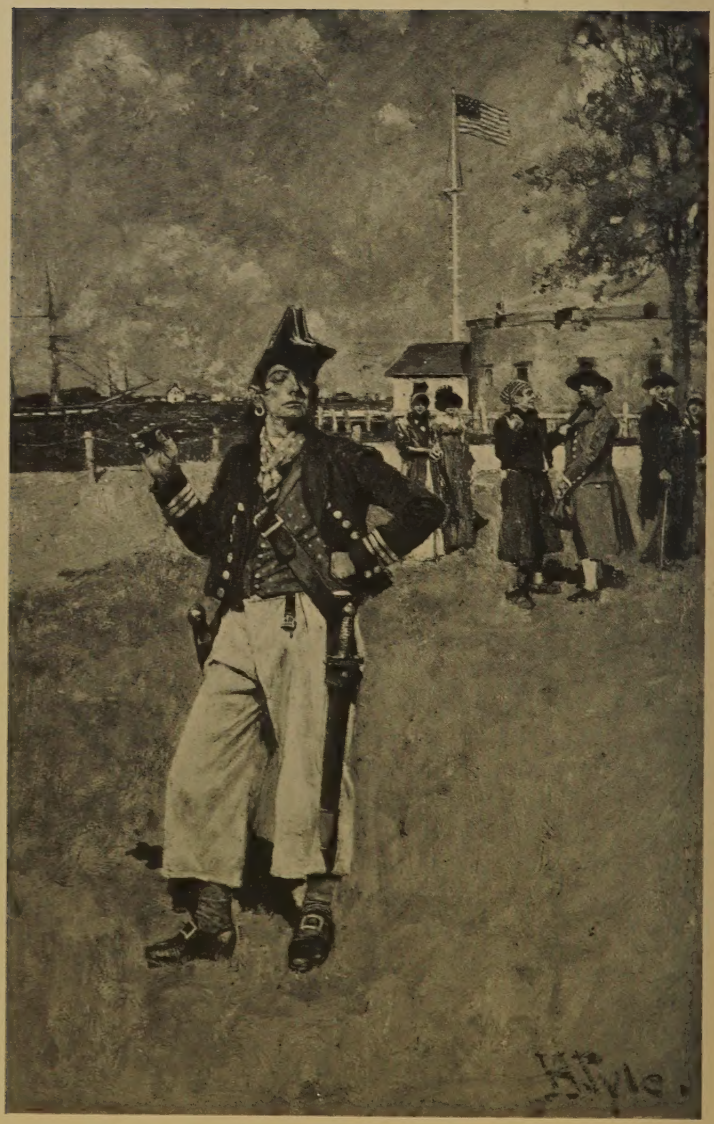

"A PRIVATEERSMAN ASHORE," BY HOWARD PYLE

Monochrome in oil, showing Castle Clinton, to illustrate Thomas A. Janvier's "The Evolution of New York," *Harper's Monthly*, June 1893, p. 18.

Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie, 1948

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THE LAST MEETING OF THE GIANTS

by R. W. G. Vail

THE VIRGINIA Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830 included among its 96 delegates many of the men who had been foremost in building the Commonwealth of Virginia and not a few who had attained national distinction, including former Presidents James Monroe and James Madison, Chief Justice John Marshall, Governor William B. Giles, John Randolph, and representatives of most of the first families of Virginia. So it was but natural that the Convention became known as The Last Meeting of the Giants.

George Catlin (1796–1872), who was later to win fame as a painter of our Western Indians, was at this time well known for his oil portraits and miniatures of famous personages and so was invited to attend the Virginia Convention in 1830 and paint the official portrait group of that body. His picture shows the moment when the Convention originally opened, with James

Madison addressing the chairman, James Monroe. Catlin seems to have begun by making a watercolor drawing 21 by 31 inches in size, showing the interior of the old House of Delegates with the figures of the delegates and others in their proper places. He then added, from individual studies made on the spot, the faces (each about an inch in diameter) of all the 101 individuals present, including the 96 delegates, the chaplain, editors of the two leading Richmond papers, the clerk and the stenographer of the Convention. He then made a pen-and-ink key, measuring 20½ by 34 inches, identifying all of the figures.

This preliminary watercolor and key were retained by Catlin, who planned to use them in publishing a historical print of the Convention, but this plan was never carried out and the watercolor and key are published here for the first time. Catlin took them to England and France where they were exhibited from 1839 to 1852 along with his collection of paintings and sketches of American Indians.[1] Having become financially involved, he borrowed heavily from Joseph Harrison, Jr., of Philadelphia and sent the latter his collection of paintings, sketches, Indian weapons and costumes as a security in 1852-1853.[2] He was never able to pay the debt and the collection lay in storage in Philadelphia

[1] The New-York Historical Society possesses an interesting 6-page broadside in the form of a "Memorial of American Artists in Paris to the honourable the Speaker and House of Representatives of the United States," dated May 14, 1846, including a similar "Memorial of American Citizens Resident in London," with letters and comments of other artists and public men, urging Congress to purchase the Catlin collection then on exhibition in Europe, as the nucleus of a National Museum. They reported that the collection "has been highly eulogized by the King (Louis Philippe) and the most distinguished artists and men of science. . . . Interesting to our countrymen generally, it is absolutely necessary to American artists. . . ."

[2] Not all of his sketches and paintings, however, were so pledged, as is evidenced by *Descriptive Catalogue of Catlin's Outlines of the North American Indians* (Baltimore: 1869) and *Catalogue Descriptive and Instructive of Catlin's Indian Cartoons* (New York: 1871). The 1869 Catalogue, of which no copy has been located outside the NYHS, describes "in addition to the portraits in his first collection . . . 120 full-length portraits, made amongst the tribes, in and west of the Rocky Mountains, during the author's last voyages, in 1852 to 1857." A large part of the collection still in Catlin's hands was deposited at this Society in 1870 and on Jan. 23, 1872, the Society purchased 220 original pencil and ink drawings from the artist. These and the Society's other holdings of Catlin items, including his oil portrait of General Winfield Scott, are described in the NYHS *Quart. Bull.*, Jan. 1942, pp. 12–16.

from 1852 to 1879, being seriously damaged by fire, water, and moths during this time.

In 1879 the late Thomas Donaldson, for many years General Agent of the Smithsonian Institution, induced the Harrison heirs to deed the Catlin collection to the National Museum and the Smithsonian published, as part five of its annual report for 1885:

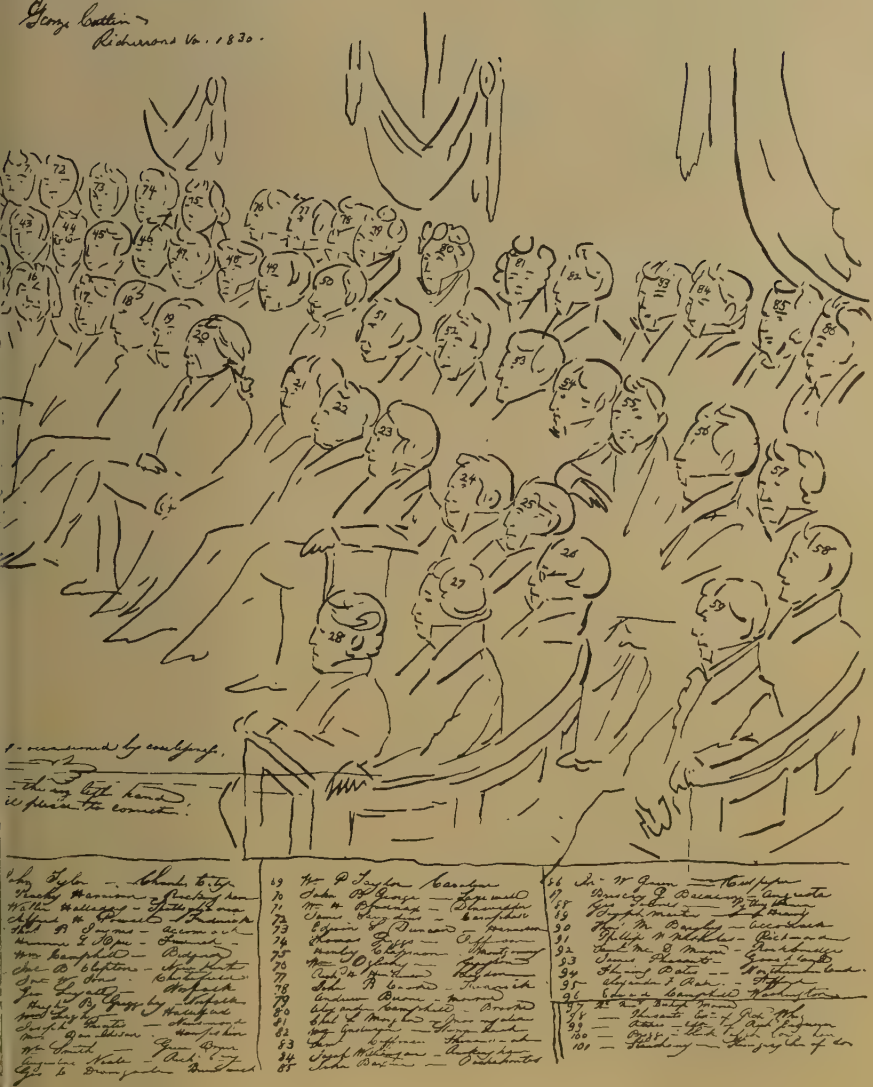
> *The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the U. S. National Museum (Smithsonian Institution) with Memoir and Statistics.* By Thomas Donaldson. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886. vii, 939 p., plates, illus., maps, 8vo.

The *Memoir of George Catlin*, pp. 701–718, the first serious attempt at a sketch of Catlin's life, mentions on p. 707 the Virginia Convention watercolor and key then (1885) "in the possession of a Philadelphia gentleman," Thomas Donaldson, the author of the memoir, to whom they had been given by the Harrison heirs. They were recently secured, through a dealer, from Donaldson's son, Mr. Thomas B. Donaldson, by this Society.

After finishing the watercolor of the Convention, Catlin copied the subject in oils on a walnut panel approximately 24 by 36 inches in size. Its history from 1830 to 1888 is unknown. In the latter year it was sent from England by the bookseller B. F. Stevens to the New England Historic Genealogical Society in Boston for examination and identification, the dealer believing that it represented the Massachusetts Convention. It was there identified as the Virginia Convention and was then sent to Richmond. It remained unsold until May, 1911, when it was shipped by the Library of Congress, which had decided not to buy it, to the late John Hart of Richmond who had purchased it for about $3,500. In 1942 it was owned by Mrs. John Hart and "a friend" but later passed to the care of the late Alexander Weddell, then President of the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond. It now hangs in the gallery of that society.

To the Commonwealth of Virginia this picture

1	James Monroe	London
2	James Madison	Orange
3	Wm B Giles	Virginia
4	John Randolph	King William
5	Joseph Alexander	Mecklenburg
6	John Y. Mason	Southampton
7	Richard Logan	Halifax
8	John J Berrien	Chatham
9	Chas. F. Mercer	Loudoun
10	Wm H Stephens	Fairfax
11	Philip C. Pendleton	Berkley
12	Archibald Stuart	Augusta
13	John J Mathews	Wythe
14	Adam Tate	Randolph
15	Philip Barbour	Orange
16	Littleton W Tazewell	Norfolk
17	Benjamin Watkins Leigh	Chesterfield
18	Richard M. Johnson	Pendleton
19	Philip P Barbour	Orange
20	John Marshall	Richmond
21	James M Garnett	Essex
22	Thomas Johnson	Hardware
23	Wm C. Rives	Albemarle
24	Thos. Miller	Pendleton
25	Thos. Nesbit	Nelson
26	John Tyler	Charles City
27	Edward Colston	Berkeley
28	Wm F. Gordon	Culpeper
29	Joseph Branch	Northampton
30	John Scott	Stafford
31	Benj W. Leigh	Chesterfield
32	Samuel Taylor	Frederick
33	Benjamin Watkins	Prince William
34	John Randolph	Charlotte
35	Benj. Watkins Leigh	Chesterfield
36	James Pleasants	Richmond
37	John H. Cocke	Fluvanna
38	Augustine Clarke	Greenbrier
39	Wm A. Moore	Rockbridge
40	John Scott	Fauquier
41	Benjamin W. Leigh	Chesterfield
42	Andrew Mc Calla	Monroe
43	Wm Brent	Fairfax
44	Robert Stanard	Richmond
45	Philip P. Barbour	Orange
46	Samuel Taylor	Frederick
47	Isaac Coles	Campbell
48	Lucas P. Thompson	Accomack
49	Littleton W. Tazewell	Norfolk
50	Wm Mc Coy	Rockbridge
51	Wm Naylor Goode	Mecklenburg



As a historical document, the watercolor in our collection is probably more important than the oil painting copied from it, since each face in the watercolor was made from an on-the-spot life study, whereas the faces in the oil copy have, in most cases, been altered and "improved" by the artist to make them more pleasing, though they are obviously less accurate as likenesses. This, presumably the only portrait group painted by Catlin, is highly important, especially as there may well be no other surviving portraits of some of the individuals depicted. The key, long considered lost, identifies each of the 101 individuals in the group.

It is interesting that Catlin's painting of the Convention in the old House of Delegates is apparently the only contemporary view showing the interior of that historic building. The oil copy of the painting was used recently in restoring the room to its original appearance. The watercolor, with Catlin's original dedication and signature, is reproduced herewith in halftone at pages 72–73 and a cleaned photograph of the key, re-inked and bleached to remove discolorations, appears in line cut at pages 74–75.

KEY TO GEORGE CATLIN'S PAINTING OF THE VIRGINIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

1.	James Monroe	Loudon	
2.	James Madison	Orange	
3.	William B. Giles	Amelia	
4.	John Roane	King William	
5.	Mark Alexander	Mecklenberg	
6.	John Y. Mason	Southampton	
7.	Richard Logan	Halifax	
8.	John S. Barbour	Culpeper	
9.	Charles F. Mercer	Loudon	
10.	William H. Fitshugh	Fairfax	
11.	Philip C. Pendleton	Berkeley	
12.	Archibald Stuart, Jr.	Patrick	
13.	John P. Mathews	Wythe	
14.	Adam See	Randolph	
15.	Philip Doddridge	Brooke	
16.	Littleton W. Tazewell	Norfolk	
17.	Chapman Johnson	Augusta	
18.	Richard N. Venable	Prince Edward	
19.	Philip P. Barbour	Orange	
20.	John Marshall	Richmond	
21.	James M. Garnett	Essex	
22.	Lewis Summers	Kanawha	
23.	William O. Goode	Mecklenberg	
24.	Fleming B. Miller	Botetourt	
25.	Thomas Massie, Jr.	Nelson	
26.	John McCrae (Macrae?)	Fauquier	
27.	Elisha Boyd	Berkeley	
28.	William F. Gordon	Albemarle	
29.	Samuel Branch	Buckingham	
	Succeeded Calohill Mennis		
30.	John Coalter	Stafford	
	Succeeded John Taliaferro		
31.	Benjamin W. S. Cabell	Pittsylvania	
32.	Samuel Claytor	Campbell	
33.	Richard Morris	Hanover	

34. John Randolph — Charlotte
35. Benjamin Watkins Leigh — Chesterfield
36. James Trezvant — Southampton
37. John Urquhart — Southampton
38. Augustine Claiborne — Greensville
39. William K. Perrin — Gloucester
Succeeded Dr. C. H. Read, dec'd
40. John Scott — Fauquier
41. Eugenius M. Wilson — Monongalia
42. Andrew McMillan — Lee
43. William Byars (Ryars?) — Washington
44. Robert Stannard — Spottsylvania
45. Abel P. Upshur — Northampton
46. Samuel Taylor — Chesterfield
47. John Laidley — Cabell
48. Lucas P. Thompson — Amherst
49. Gordon Cloyd — Montgomery
50. William McCoy — Pendleton
51. William Naylor — Hampshire
52. John Tyler — Charles City
53. Peachy Harrison — Rockingham
54. Walter Holladay — Spottsylvania
Succeeded David Watson
55. Alfred H. Powell — Frederick
56. Thomas R. Jaynes (Joynes?) — Accomac
57. Hierome L. Opie — Frederick
Succeeded James M. Mason
58. William Campbell — Bedford
59. John B. Clopton — New Kent
60. John W. Jones — Chesterfield
61. George Loyall — Norfolk
62. Hugh B. Griggsby — Norfolk
Succeeded Robert B. Taylor
63. William Leigh — Halifax
64. Joseph Prentis — Nansemond
65. William Donaldson — Hampshire
66. William Smith — Greenbrier
67. Augustine Neale — Richmond
68. George C. Dromgoole — Brunswick
69. William P. Taylor — Caroline
70. John B. George — Tazewell
71. William H. Brodnax — Dinwiddie
72. James Saunders — Campbell
73. Edwin S. Duncan — Harrison
74. Thomas Griggs, Jr. — Jefferson
75. Henley (Henry?) Chapman — Montgomery
76. William Oglesby — Grayson
77. Richard H. Henderson — Loudon
78. John R. Cooke — Frederick
79. Andrew Beirne (Bierne?) — Monroe
80. Alexander Campbell — Brooke
81. Charles S. Morgan — Monongalia
82. William Anderson — Shenandoah
83. Samuel Coffman — Shenandoah
84. Jacob Williamson — Rockingham
85. John Baxter — Pocahontas
86. John W. Green — Culpeper
87. Briscoe G. Baldwin — Augusta
88. George Townes — Pittsylvania
89. Joseph Martin — Henry
90. Thomas M. Bayly — Accomac
91. Philip N. Nicholas — Richmond
92. Samuel McD. Moore — Rockbridge
93. James Pleasants — Goochland
94. Fleming Bates — Northumberland
95. Alexander F. Rose — Stafford
Succeeded William A. G. Dade
96. Edward Campbell — Washington

NON-DELEGATES

97. Rt. Rev. R. C. Moore
Bishop, P. E. Ch.
98. John Hampden Pleasants
Ed., Richmond Whig
99. Thomas Ritchie, Sr.
Ed., Richmond Enquirer
100. ——— Briggs
Clerk of the Convention
101. ——— Stansbury
Official stenographer of the Convention, from Washington

HARRY T. PETERS, MASTER OF HOUNDS, MEADOW BROOK

Watercolor by Gordon Ross, 1922

PRESENTATION OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S GOLD MEDAL FOR ACHIEVEMENT IN HISTORY TO

HARRY TWYFORD PETERS

by Mary Bartlett Cowdrey

THE New-York Historical Society's gold medal "For Achievement in History" was awarded on the evening of December 8, 1947, to Mr. Harry T. Peters in recognition of his contributions to the field of graphic arts. The medal, which has been bestowed on only four previous occasions since it was designed in 1925, was presented by Dr. Fenwick Beekman, President of the Society, during a quiet, informal ceremony at Mr. Peters' home. Presented with the medal was the following citation:

The Board of Trustees of The New-York Historical Society, in recognition of the outstanding contributions of HARRY TWYFORD PETERS to the history of the graphic arts in America and to the social history of our people, ¶ Through the assembling of his unique collections of the lithographs of Currier and Ives and the works of other early American lithographers and woodcut artists, ¶ Through the publication of his scholarly and authoritative works: *Currier and Ives*, *Printmakers to the American People*, *America on Stone*, and *California on Stone* and his other essays and lectures in this field, ¶ Through his leadership and generous encouragement of other scholars and his years of service as officer, councilor and member of national societies devoted to American history, bibliography and the graphic arts, ¶ Has awarded him the Society's Gold Medal for Achievement in History this eighth day of December, nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

[*Signed*] R. W. G. Vail
Secretary to the Board

Fenwick Beekman
President

Among his accomplishments and achievements in many fields of activity, Harry T. Peters is today the outstanding collector of American prints. He has amassed the largest collection of 19th-century American lithographs covering all phases of life during the last three quarters of the past century. First he sought out

prints published by Currier & Ives; then his interest extended to lithographs of all American publishers. His three books: *Currier & Ives, Printmakers to the American People*, in two volumes (1929, 1931), *America on Stone* (1931), and *California on Stone* (1935), reflect only a part of the wide scope of his own collection, but there is sufficient otherwise-unobtainable information within these three large works to place Mr. Peters among the more important writers on the history of American art and American social history.

Born on August 1, 1881, the son of Samuel T. and Adaline Elder Peters, Harry T. Peters grew up and has spent all his life in this city. He graduated at Columbia College in 1903. Although his father was a collector and a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the elder Peters' interest in the field of Chinese ceramics hardly touched the son. His inspiration as a connoisseur of prints came rather from his uncle, Mr. Henry O. Havemeyer, who with his wife built up a notable collection of late-19th-century French paintings. Mr. Havemeyer, knowing Harry Peters' fondness for horses and hunting, advised his nephew to concentrate on American prints, for no one was collecting them at the turn of the century. Horace Greeley could not have given better advice to a young man.

Starting in with the equestrian prints which he found in many a Long Island barn, Mr. Peters soon had pictures of all the well-known horses—the one, for instance, of *Lady Suffolk* obtained from her old stall. After he had acquired all the good prints of the turf, the collecting urge was so well developed that Mr. Peters had to go on to other subjects and found an almost endless variety among the lithographs published by Currier & Ives. The great interest here was the various aspects of life: sport, town views, historic scenes, portraits, comics, literary illustrations, and social scenes, but, as Mr. Peters has so often pointed out, none of this was art. In fact, he was far less concerned with the fine arts than were his contemporaries and was practically alone in realizing the historical and sociological value of print-collecting in the

MEDAL AWARDED TO HARRY TWYFORD PETERS, 1947

early days of the century. While others decried the lack of artistry in Currier & Ives prints, Mr. Peters went on his way collecting without being concerned by the problem of aesthetic values. (That Mr. Peters is not unaware of, or insensitive to, these problems, however, is evidenced by his article: "George Henry Durrie, 1820-1863," in *Panorama*, December, 1945.) The collection grew rapidly in the period up to about 1920. Mr. Peters tells of buying prints by the bundle and of finding one particularly large bundle in a harness shop at Newburgh, New York, while he was there on a business trip selling coal. In New York he made frequent visits to the secondhand bookshops, where prints were usually classified by subject matter and sold in packages. Almost every package would contain good items for the collection. In those days it was wholesale collecting, for the prints themselves had practically no individual value.

Of the other American print collections being formed in the early years of this century, the more notable ones were the Percy Pyne collection of New York views, dispersed at public auction in 1917; the I. N. Phelps Stokes collection of American town views, given to the New York Public Library in 1930; and the E. W. C. Arnold collection of New York views, now on loan at the Museum of the City of New York. None of these collectors, however, paid particular attention to Currier & Ives, nor did

they feature the medium of lithography. The first important private collection of Currier & Ives was that of William Whiting Nolen, known as "Widow" Nolen, the Harvard tutor. This was sold, after his death, at the Anderson Galleries in New York on March 4, 1924. At the sale the collecting audience was impressed with the prices brought by certain of the Currier & Ives and other American prints. Auction values were thus established for the first time on such prints and the prices were high enough to start new collectors on the great race to buy the American scene. Before the Nolen sale five dollars or so was practically a top price for the best of the Curriers.

In the late 1920's Mr. Peters realized that the time had come to write a book telling the story of the famous publishing house of Currier & Ives and to provide a checklist of the known prints. This he did in 1929 when he brought out the first volume of his important work: *Currier & Ives, Printmakers to the American Public;* the second volume followed in 1931. The checklist, including about 5,700 prints, is now the standard reference and "HTP" numbers are accepted everywhere for identification. It is not only the checklist which makes these volumes so important; the text itself, telling the story of the firm and giving biographical accounts of the principal personalities, makes a first-rate contribution to the history of the 19th century. Then in 1931 Mr. Peters' *America on Stone* was published. This is an invaluable reference work, being a record of all publishers of American lithographs (known to him at the time) other than Currier & Ives. In 1935 he brought out *California on Stone*, an iconography of the time of the Gold Rush and the rapid growth of the State. Not only do his books cover his own collection, but they are an unequalled review of the history of the American lithograph.

Mr. Peters' *Currier & Ives* had originally been published in a limited edition but, as years went by, the public interest grew tremendously. In 1942 the author re-wrote and condensed his earlier study and Doubleday, Doran brought it out at a popular

price. The Book-of-the-Month Club saw its possibilities and ordered thousands of copies. Within two years, more than 550,000 copies had been printed. Mr. Peters himself was surprised at this success, for no other book in the field of American art had ever been so widely circulated. Mr. Peters' name had become inextricably associated with Currier & Ives. As a matter of fact, he was the best publicity man the firm ever had.

Nathaniel Currier began issuing lithographs as early as 1834, though his substantial success as "N. Currier" dates from about 1840 to 1856. In the latter year he took his brother-in-law, James M. Ives, into partnership, and from 1857 Currier & Ives produced a steady output of lithographs, falling off in production somewhat in the mid-1880's but continuing until the dissolution of the firm in 1907. At the time of the great popular revival of interest in its work, after thousands of people all over the country had heard of Currier & Ives, there began a wave of discovery. Prints which years before had been relegated to the attic were brought back downstairs. The publishers' name was magic, the owners wanted information on their treasures, and no one but Mr. Peters had so thoroughly studied, written about, and collected the record of the famous firm. Mr. Peters' fan-mail increased tremendously and hardly a day went by but there were letters from far and near seeking information. No doubt Mr. Peters enjoyed taking time from his regular business affairs to answer many of these letters and to offer an expert's advice whenever he thought the inquiry warranted it. He thus became the unquestioned authority. As each year goes by, "new" and unrecorded Currier & Ives prints are found, bringing the known total to about 7,000 items; Mr. Peters has about 5,000 of these in his collection along with approximately 4,000 lithographs by other American publishers. No other collection, private or public, can boast so fine a representation of American lithography.

Few collectors have been as generous as Mr. Peters in lending for public exhibition. The Grolier Club exhibition of Currier & Ives in 1929-30, occasioned by the publication of Mr. Peters'

first volume and supplied from his collection, was followed in 1931 by the Currier & Ives display at the New York Public Library, where 194 prints from the Peters holdings were shown. An illustrated catalogue prepared by Charles F. McCombs stands as a record of that comprehensive exhibition. When the Piping Rock Club of Locust Valley, Long Island, was opened, Mr. Peters lent many Currier & Ives sporting subjects, and these prints proved to be so popular that the club eventually formed its own collection for permanent display at the clubhouse. During the 1930's countless public exhibitions gratefully acknowledged the kindness of Mr. Peters in lending his prints. The Museum of the City of New York borrowed extensively from the Peters collection when Miss Grace M. Mayer arranged the comprehensive exhibition of New York City views in 1938. One of the shows that pleased Mr. Peters most was an exhibition based on his collection of circus prints and arranged jointly by the Grolier Club and the Museum of the City of New York in 1938. On surprisingly few occasions, however, has Mr. Peters been called upon to coöperate with an art museum. But in 1945 David Keppel, Curator of Prints at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C., chose a group of forty large folio Curriers for the first exhibition of its kind held at that gallery. And again in 1945 five of the large folio Currier & Ives lithographs were included in the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition: ROMANTIC PAINTING IN AMERICA.

Although Mr. Peters has always been a private collector, it is evident that the public has thought of him as an educational institution. Not only have museums, historical societies, and libraries found him most willing to help in lending from his unique collection, but countless business firms, advertising agencies, insurance companies, and other private organizations have received his gracious assent to their requests for loans and reproduction rights. In short, Mr. Peters has been a one-man museum and a worthy public servant, which marks him off from many another private collector who has overlooked the pleasure of lending.

Mr. Peters' interests as a print-collector have by no means been confined to Currier & Ives, nor have his services to the museums been limited to lending. His notable collection of 10,000 wood-engravings from American news weeklies, 1851–1900, for instance, came to The New-York Historical Society a year ago in its entirety by outright gift. Already it has been the source of one of the Society's most popular exhibitions: NEWS ARTISTS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, of a lecture which marked the preview and opening of the exhibition on February 4, 1947, and of an article: "Plain Talk in Pictures," by Joseph G. E. Hopkins, in the April 1947 *Quarterly*.

Members of the Society who attended Mr. Peters' lectures in its auditorium in 1941, 1942, and 1943 will recall the pleasure and profit derived from his informative talks on "Lithographers other than Currier & Ives," "The Story of the Fair: Its Beginning, Growth, and Effect on American Life," and "New York as the Wood Engraver Saw It." The person who can entertain an audience and fill a lecture hall time after time is rare indeed. Harry T. Peters can do so because, with all his learning, he is a real showman, combining qualities reminiscent of P. T. Barnum and Buffalo Bill. His enthusiasm for his subject is such that he has sometimes shown as many as 110 slides an hour. Many organizations besides the Historical Society have enjoyed the charm and contagious enthusiasm of his talks on Currier & Ives and other 19th-century American prints, among them: the Museum of the City of New York, the Grolier Club, the Century Club, many New York City churches, and other groups.

Few men have led such active lives as Mr. Peters. Besides his participation in the coal business founded by his father, he has served on the boards of banks and other business organizations. Outside of business, he has been actively interested in the Bibliographical Society of America, served as president of the Grolier Club from 1939 to 1943 and for twenty-five years as Master of Hounds of the Meadow Brook Club, and is now Vice-President of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, mem-

The Board of Trustees of
The New-York Historical Society,
in recognition of the outstanding contributions of

Harry Wyckoff Peters

to the history of the graphic arts in America and to the social history of our people.

Through the assembling of his unique collections of the lithographs of Currier and Ives and the works of other early American lithographers and woodcut artists,

Through the publication of his scholarly and authoritative works:

Currier and Ives,
Printmakers to the American People,
America on Stone,
and California on Stone

and his other essays and lectures in this field,

Through his leadership and generous encouragement of other scholars and his years of service as officer, councilor and member of national societies devoted to American history, bibliography and the graphic arts,

Has awarded him the Society's Gold Medal for Achievement in History this eighth day of December, nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

[redacted]

Secretary to the Board.

President.

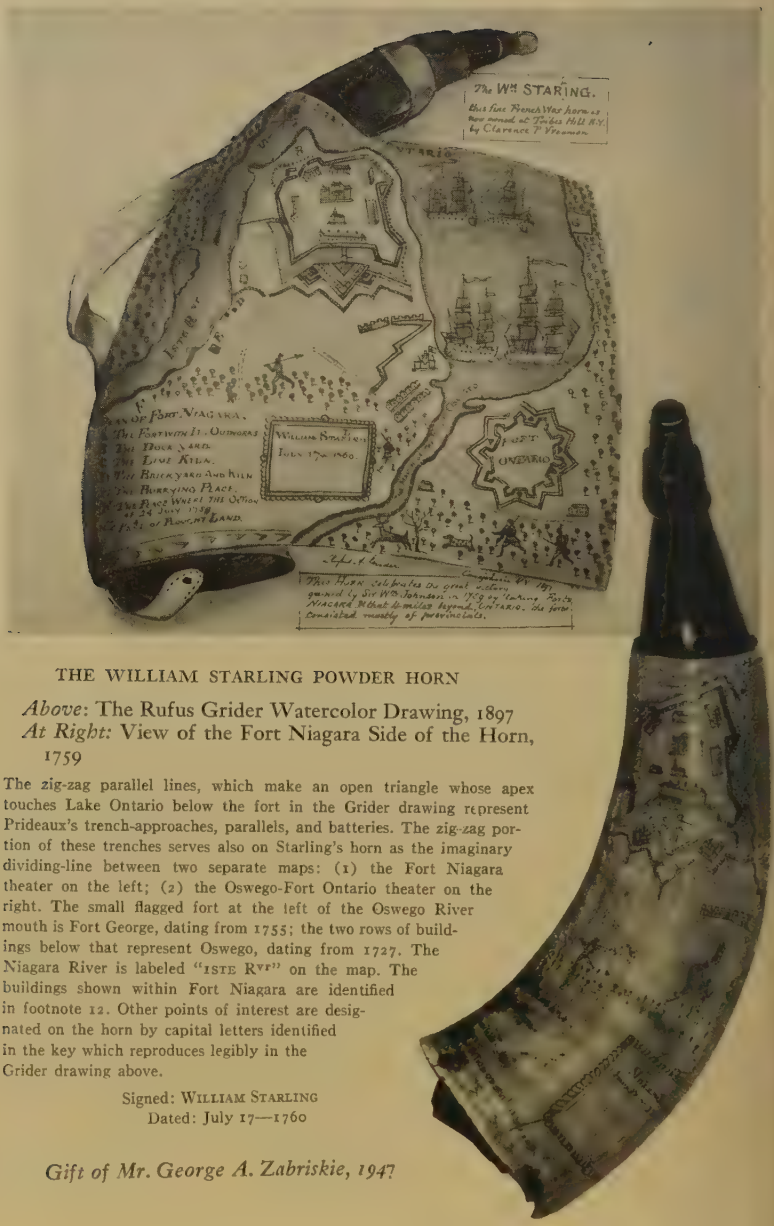
ILLUMINATED CITATION PRESENTED TO MR. PETERS
WITH THE SOCIETY'S GOLD MEDAL FOR ACHIEVEMENT IN HISTORY

December 8, 1947

ber of the American Antiquarian Society, and, since 1946, a Fellow of The New-York Historical Society, of which he became a Life Member in 1930.

We cannot here begin to give a well-rounded picture of the man. Mr. Peters' greatest interest outside of business has been sport. Riding, hunting, horses, and dogs are the things he loves most and to which he has turned in his collecting and literary as well as his active moods. See, for instance, his 250-page volume: *Just Hunting* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935) and his Introduction to Robert W. Henderson's *Early American Sport* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1937). But in our account of Mr. Peters the print-collector we are forced to stick to our subject and leave for another writer the enviable task of drawing a complete picture of this most unusual man. We can say, however, that we have seldom known a more sympathetic person, always ready to encourage all types of research and scholarship as they touched on American history and American social life. He has been so willing in his help and backing that countless print curators and historians are in his debt and the public benefits greatly from his great generosity and enthusiasm.

In making this fifth award of its gold medal "For Achievement in History," The New-York Historical Society could not have chosen a worthier recipient. The medal was first awarded, in 1925, to Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes in recognition of his monumental *Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498-1909;* next in 1931 to Dr. Wilberforce Eames for his outstanding contributions to American bibliography and historical scholarship; again in 1933 to Mr. DeWitt McClellan Lockman, N. A., for his valuable work in painting the portraits of distinguished contemporary Americans for the Society's Art Gallery; and finally, in 1943, to Professor George Clinton Densmore Odell in recognition of his multi-volumed *Annals of the New York Stage.* It is altogether fitting that the man who now takes his place with this honored company is the distinguished collector, author, and scholar in the graphic arts—Harry Twyford Peters.


The Wm STARING.
This fine French War horn is now owned at Tribes Hill N.Y. by Clarence T. Vrooman.
PLAN OF FORT NIAGARA.
The Fortifyd Ft. Outworks
The Dock Yard
The Lime Kiln
The Brick yard And Kiln
The Burrying Place
The Place Where the Action of 24 July 1759 Happen'd
Ft. of Pleasant Land.
William Starling Fecit 1760.
FORT ONTARIO
This Horn celebrates the great victory gained by Sir Wm Johnson in 1759 at Fort Niagara & that Country beyond Ontario. the force Consisted mostly of provincials.

THE WILLIAM STARLING POWDER HORN

Above: The Rufus Grider Watercolor Drawing, 1897
At Right: View of the Fort Niagara Side of the Horn, 1759

The zig-zag parallel lines, which make an open triangle whose apex touches Lake Ontario below the fort in the Grider drawing represent Prideaux's trench-approaches, parallels, and batteries. The zig-zag portion of these trenches serves also on Starling's horn as the imaginary dividing-line between two separate maps: (1) the Fort Niagara theater on the left; (2) the Oswego-Fort Ontario theater on the right. The small flagged fort at the left of the Oswego River mouth is Fort George, dating from 1755; the two rows of buildings below that represent Oswego, dating from 1727. The Niagara River is labeled "ISTE RVR" on the map. The buildings shown within Fort Niagara are identified in footnote 12. Other points of interest are designated on the horn by capital letters identified in the key which reproduces legibly in the Grider drawing above.

Signed: WILLIAM STARLING
Dated: July 17—1760

Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie, 1947

THE WILLIAM STARLING POWDER HORN

AND THE NIAGARA CAMPAIGN OF 1759

by CHARLES E. BAKER

IT HAS been said with reason that "The engraved powder horn is without doubt the most typical, the most interesting and the most historically valuable piece of frontier equipment that has come down to us."[1] Those that have survived from the French and Indian War are, as a group, more informative and, considering the documentary poverty of that war, better representative of their period than the horns of any other.* And of all the French and Indian War horns extant, the William Starling powder horn, recently presented to the Society by Mr. George A. Zabriskie, stands near the top in beauty of execution and historical interest.

Despite the paucity of collateral documents, we can learn a great deal from that horn about its owner, about the important and colorful campaign in which he participated, and about the quality of support brought by the colonies to the war effort as a whole.

It is a beauty, in near-perfect state of preservation, made of good-sized ox-horn (about 12 inches long and 3¼ inches in diameter at its base), and stained a deep amber from its bath in the yellow-orange dye whose formula lies buried with the professional horn-makers of old. The carving is excellent and accurate, obviously the work of one well practiced in the art of powder-horn engraving; the design, well planned to fill the awk-

[1] R. W. G. Vail in NYHS *Quarterly*, January 1947, p. 46.

* According to Rufus A. Grider, 10,000 French and Indian War powder horns existed in the English and American armies, 1755–63, of which Grider found 212 to be extant; and during the Revolution about the same number in the American army, of which Grider found only 159 to be extant. However, Grider gave no source for his figures. One of the interesting points made by Grider is that "The collection [now at the NYHS] shows that by far the greater number of horns were made and carried by soldiers from the New England States." Grider also recorded 12 powder horns of the War of 1812, one of the Mexican War, and 59 hunting and Indian horns.

ward spaces and twisting contours of the horn without too much distortion of the topographical relationships.

Rufus Grider made a pleasant watercolor drawing of this horn at Canajoharie,[2] New York, in 1897, and it too may be seen among the Society's collection of more than 500 Grider powder-horn drawings, as French War Series No. 212. Grider labeled his drawing as follows:

> The Wᴹ Starling [Powder Horn].
> This fine French War horn is now [1897]
> owned at Tribes Hill N. Y. by Clarence
> P. Vrooman[3]
> This Horn celebrates the great victory
> gained by Sir Wᵐ Johnson in 1759 by taking
> Forts Niagara & that 4 miles beyond,
> Ontario.[4] the force consisted mostly
> of provincials.[5]

[2] It is interesting to note that the drawing was made by Grider at the place where, in April 1759, Sir William Johnson convened a great council of the Six Nations and arranged with them to contribute jointly to a force whose purpose would be to take Fort Niagara in the country of the Senecas—the event commemorated on the horn.

[3] How Mr. Vrooman came to possess the horn is discussed on p. 103. The horn was later purchased from the Vrooman family by James C. Howgate, a dealer, who sold it to Mr. George A. Zabriskie. Mr. Zabriskie presented it to The New-York Historical Society in 1947.

[4] Mr. Grider fell into error here, probably because Starling had telescoped the territory between the two forts in order to show both theaters of activity at once. Fort Ontario was at the mouth of the Oswego River, as shown on the horn, near the eastern end of Lake Ontario's southern shore, and, though unsuccessfully attacked by the French on July 5, 1759, had not been in French hands for three years. Grider may have confused Fort Ontario with "The Place Where the Oction of 24 July 1759" occurred, designated "F" on the horn and drawing. It will be noted that this was near the Niagara River, labeled "1st Rvr" on the horn and drawing. Or possibly he had in mind Fort Little Niagara, built *c.* 1750 just above Niagara Falls where the portage road began some twenty miles directly south from Fort Niagara, and consequently not shown on the horn. It was burned by Joncaire while the siege of Niagara was in progress to prevent its possible seizure by the British as a barrier to the expected French reinforcements from the southwest. A charred stone chimney of its barracks still stands as a witness to Joncaire's sacrifice. Sir William did not occupy the site immediately and the reinforcements got through to be disastrously routed within the very sight of the beleaguered commandant of Fort Niagara, in "The Oction of 24 July 1759," as Starling labeled it on his horn.

[5] Grider is again in error. The British force at Niagara comprised some 2,200 men of whom less than a third were Provincials (New York). Chaplain Ogilvie stated that but 200 of the New York troops accompanied them to Niagara, but authoritative estimates put the number at about 700. The remainder were regulars. And even this leaves out of account Sir William Johnson's Indians, estimated to have numbered

Next to Quebec, Fort Niagara was rated the most important French stronghold in America. Indeed, Arthur Young, in his *Reflections on the Present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad* (London: 1759), calls it "the most important of all the French forts":

> it stands in the midst of the country of the Six Nations, and is the chief and almost the only pass into the interior parts of North America, both from north and south and from east and west, either from the French settlements or ours. In short, the importance of this place is almost inconceivable; it is a key to the whole continent, it awes and commands all the Indians of North America; it secures all the inland trade of that continent; it lays our colonies open to the inroads of the French and Indians—such is the consequence of this place!

Niagara's "Citadel"—a formidable stone building—had been erected by the French in 1726, ostensibly as a "House of Peace," actually to forestall English encroachments upon their Great Lakes fur trade. Governor Burnet of New York, claiming the land on which it stood, immediately built a rival fortification at the mouth of the Oswego River near the opposite end of Lake Ontario, and before long English brandy at the Oswego trading post was enticing growing numbers of thirsty Indian traders from the West to by-pass Niagara, where prohibition against the sale of liquor to the natives was rigorously enforced. When the French and Indian War broke out, each fort, now greatly strengthened, became a major objective of its rival's forces.

In the summer of 1755 General Shirley planned a great campaign against Niagara and led 1,500 troops up the Mohawk as far as Oswego. Here rumors of an even greater French counterstroke and failure to win Indian support frightened Shirley into abandonment of the expedition. Instead, he built the first Fort Ontario across the river from old Fort Oswego and, near the latter, Fort George, to ward off the expected attack. A year later

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over 900 at the time of the capitulation. However, as we shall see, His Majesty's 60th (Royal American) Regiment, of which the 4th Battalion was present, had been recruited mainly from the colonies.

Montcalm drove the British from these forts but, out of deference to his new-won Iroquois friends, made no effort to repair or hold them but left them a ruin which the British were too disheartened to reoccupy for another three years. In December 1758, however, Pitt the Elder sent particular instructions to General Amherst to "facilitate . . . the reëstablishment of the important post of Oswego" with the hope that "you may find it practicable to set on foot some enterprise against the fort" at Niagara.

Great preparations were made for the campaign of 1759. Three distinct expeditions were planned: (1) against Fort Niagara, (2) against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and (3) against Quebec. Lieutenant Governor James DeLancey issued proclamations for raising and provisioning 2,600 New York Provincials, and the New England colonies followed suit. At a special session of the Connecticut General Assembly on March 8, 1759, provision was made to raise 3,600 militia and to encourage enlistments or reënlistments in the regular service. This and an earlier act for "the Quartering and Billeting [of] Recruiting Officers and Recruits in his Majesty's Regular Forces" applied particularly to the Royal Americans (60th Regiment of Foot),[6] established for the sole purpose of attracting colonials. This is important to remember, for it is among the Connecticut recruits to the Royal Americans that, by a process of elimination which will become obvious, we shall have to look for our elusive William Starling.

General Prideaux, in charge of the Niagara expedition, assembled at Schenectady a force of 5,000 men, including the 44th and 46th Regiments of regulars, the entire quota of New York Provincials, and the newly filled 4th Battalion of Royal Americans. During the month of June this force made its arduous way up the

[6] This was "the first regiment in the army to remove the lace from privates' uniforms, to shorten the coat, and thereby to furnish a more serviceable uniform for brush warfare." It was also "the last to have any considerable number of colonials in its ranks." (Milne and Terry, *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*)

THE "SHREDS OF HISTORY" POWDER HORN, *c.* 1759

On this anonymous horn (owned by F. W. Lucas of London when Grider drew it in 1892) may be traced the route of Prideaux's Niagara expedition from its rendezvous at Schenectady ("Chinakety"), up the Mohawk, across Lake "Onyda," down the Oswego to Fort Ontario, and thence by way of Lake Ontario to Fort Niagara. (The Society owns a remarkably similar "William Elmslie" powder horn, gift of Samuel V. Hoffman, 1930.)

In the Society's Collection of Rufus Grider Powder-Horn Drawings

Mohawk, across to Lake Oneida which it traversed, and thence down the Oswego River to its mouth, where Sir William Johnson swelled its numbers with his horde of Indians.[7] Here, on July 1st, Prideaux left part of his force under Colonel Haldimand with instructions to reconstruct Fort Ontario, and embarked with 2,200 soldiers—700 New York Provincials, the two all-British regiments, and the Royal American 4th Battalion

[7] Estimated then at 600, but constantly increasing till it reached more than 900 when the fort fell—one of the largest and perhaps the most formidable of all the bands of Indians ever led by a white man into conflict.

under Major John Tullikins—in whaling boats for Fort Niagara.

William Starling was somewhere among that force, as his powder horn, for reasons we shall cite, makes evident. He was not one of the New Yorkers, for the muster rolls of the New York regiments do not contain his name. The probability is heavily against his having belonged to the predominantly British 44th[8] or 46th, for the horn and its history proclaim him an American. He must therefore, in all likelihood, have been one of the recent recruits to the Royal American regiment and, though its muster rolls can no longer be cited to prove it, other evidence for that conclusion will pile up.

Before continuing to follow Starling's career through the remainder of the campaign as a presumptive member of the Royal American 4th, let us try to discover his identity, his background, and the probable circumstances of his enlistment.

A combing of the provincial muster rolls and other records of that war (admittedly incomplete), and of the genealogical compilations, colonial documents, local histories, and 1790 census reports, reveals in all America but one *William Starling* who could have served in the Niagara campaign. If we can demonstrate this William's possible connection with the Royal Americans and trace the provenance of the horn with plausibility back to him, we shall have to accept him as the true original owner of the horn—at least until positive evidence to the contrary is forthcoming. Here is his history:

In 1759 there lived in Norwalk, Connecticut, a storekeeper and landholder, five-years married and father of a toddling son named after himself, *William Starling*. His great-grandfather, William Sterling, born near London (1637), had, by 1660, settled in Rowley (now Bradford), Massachusetts, where Starling's grandfather Richard was born in 1663. Richard Sterling was established in the family trade of shipwright at Bristol,

[8] In 1756 this regiment, then in the southern theater, had almost as many colonials in its ranks as the Royal Americans. But this was not true in 1759, when its depleted ranks had been filled from England.

Rhode Island, when his son "William Starlin" (father of our William) was born in 1695. In 1714 the father of our William married Abigail Patchen of Fairfield, Connecticut, and after two years' residence in Norwalk, moved to his wife's home town, purchased a considerable amount of landed property, and established himself as a prosperous miller.

William Starling was born at Fairfield, October 10, 1716, the eldest of five brothers and two sisters. When he was twelve years old, his father purchased fifteen acres of land at a place called "Prinpewang" north of "Harris Bridge" on the highway adjoining the "common lands" in Wilton Parish at Norwalk, three acres of which, including house and barn, he gave to William twenty years later. William Starling settled here as early as April 10, 1746, when he bought fifteen acres adjoining his father's; and thenceforth to the day of his death in 1801 the records show him to be a resident of Norwalk. He married Rebecca [or Reubena] Green in Wilton Parish, June 4, 1754, and his own son William was born there, July 9, 1755. Apparently he did not devote himself exclusively to farming, for the following year finds him keeping store at Wilton (Norwalk).

Then came the war, and the early French victories roused New England (only less vulnerable than New York to attack from Canada) to a fever-pitch of apprehension and patriotism. Preachers fulminated and exhorted from the pulpit. Legislatures levied troops. William's younger brother Isaac joined up as a corporal in Captain Samuel Hubbel's company, Fourth Connecticut Regiment, on March 2, 1757. In November he came home with thrilling tales of his experiences in the campaign. The next year brother Daniel also went forth to win his bloody laurels and bring back his hero's tales. Nevertheless, the victories went to the French and their savage allies. But 1759 would be different! By a supreme effort the French would be driven from their strongholds on the Niagara, at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and at Quebec! The colonies would be saved and the victorious armies would be heroes indeed!

On March 8, 1759, the General Assembly, besides providing for the largest militia force in Connecticut history, did all it could to induce enlistments in the regular army—which, in practice, largely meant the Royal Americans. Recruiting officers were quartered and billeted at public expense and exerted their persuasive powers everywhere. Fairfield County responded magnificently and the militia companies of Captains John Burr, Stephen Thorp, Solomon Morehouse, Nathaniel Hawley, and Lieutenant-Colonel James Smedley were soon filled with William Starling's neighbors and led away by Colonel David Wooster of the Third Connecticut Regiment to help drive the French from Lake George. Norwalk itself, in a burst of patriotic fervor, voted taxes to quarter a battalion of regulars in the town. Enlistments were numerous and we must suppose that William Starling's was one of them.

What motives induced this 42-year-old storekeeper to leave his wife and four-year-old son for the uniform of His Majesty's own American regiment and the perils of a frontier campaign we shall never know. Perhaps the contagion of patriotic fever overcame him, or a competitive desire to outshine his younger brothers—mere militiamen—in his young wife's eyes, or a yearning to recapture the fervors of lost youth. Whatever the reason, we must imagine him surrendering his affairs with many a careful instruction into Rebecca's capable hands; perhaps pressing upon her younger sister, who would marry his brother Daniel when the war was over, to lend a hand at the store and with the chores; kissing his heir and namesake tenderly—then off with his battalion to rendezvous with Prideaux at Schenectady!

One last conjectural look at him before his departure: The Connecticut Act of March 8, 1759, had provided "That each man inlisting on either of the encouragements aforesaid shall provide for himself . . . powder-horn and shot-bag. . . . " We must accordingly imagine William Starling—the storekeeper turned soldier—carefully examining his stock of powder horns, selecting the finest specimen from among them, and, with a heart eager for

the exploits he would record upon its polished surface, marching away to the rhythm of its swing against his side. As an almost-certain member of the 4th Battalion of Royal Americans, then, we shall follow his career through the remainder of the campaign.[9]

Having traversed the length of Lake Ontario in one of the whaling boats before mentioned, Starling landed with the rest of Prideaux's force at Four-Mile-Creek—a name indicative of its distance from Niagara—on July 6th, and was immediately detailed with his battalion and a party of Johnson's Indians to reconnoiter the fort. This party was the first to exchange shots with the surprised French and to sanctify the campaign with its blood. Stumbling upon a half-dozen Frenchmen hunting for pigeons on the plain outside the fort, it took all but one prisoners and lost one Mohawk in the encounter.

The next day, Prideaux invested the fort by land and from across the river, and broke ground for the first trench. During the following fortnight, under constant heavy fire from the fort, he moved his batteries and trenches ever closer to the doomed but stubborn stronghold. On the 11th the first mortars opened fire at 1,000 yards. By the 19th, dawn disclosed an English parallel some 80 yards long in front of the fort and only 160 yards away; and with each move closer the English fire did heavier execution. During the night of the 20th a fourth parallel was dug about 100 yards from the fort and a new battery brought into service.

That fatal 20th! While laying out a trench on behalf of the wounded chief engineer, Colonel John Johnstone, commander of the New Yorkers, was killed by a musket ball. And General Prideaux, inspecting the 80-yard parallel which had taunted the French at previous daybreak, was killed by a shell discharged from one of his own guns. Sir William Johnson immediately as-

[9] It must be understood that hereafter statements of Starling's participation in the actions described are based entirely on the presumption of his membership in the 4th Battalion, R. A., and not on mention of his name in the records of those actions. However, further substantiation of the presumption is offered on pages 100–102.

sumed command,[10] and though Charles Lee (with a loyalty equal to that he later showed toward Washington) called him no soldier and a military incompetent, Sir William soon brought the fort to desperate straits and proved his tactical mettle in the decisive "Oction of 24 July 1759."

Governor Pouchot, commandant of the Fort, upon his first intelligence of the attack, had sent runners posthaste to summon aid from Fort Venango on the Pennsylvania frontier. There, on July 12th, Pouchot's call for help interrupted a council of 400 Frenchmen and 1,000 Indians planning an attack under De Ligney against Fort Pitt. Joined by Aubry with 300 Frenchmen and 600 Indians from Illinois, De Ligney set out at once to raise the siege of Niagara, without which any other French successes on the frontier would be futile. On the 23d both Johnson and Pouchot received intelligence of De Ligney's and Aubry's approach up the portage road from Niagara Falls—Pouchot with anticipation of immediate relief, Sir William with alacrity to forestall it.

Johnson immediately ordered Captain James DeLancey with a detachment of Royal Americans to construct a breastwork across the portage road about a mile above the British camp. Next morning within a matter of minutes after the enemy's presence was scouted the full battalion of Royal Americans and a detachment of the 46th had manned the works and received DeLancey's order "not to fire till they were sure of their mark, which they punctually obeyed." When De Ligney's fire had slackened, Starling and his comrades "jumped over the Breastwork and rushed in on the Enemy, who immediately gave way"—so DeLancey reported it to his father, the Lieutenant Governor; and after Johnson's Indians had repulsed a flank attack, the enemy "ran away as fast as they could, and never offered to rally afterwards . . . . We pursued about five miles . . . killed 200 and took 100

[10] The New-York Historical Society has the original Orderly Book of the Niagara campaign, April 24–August 25, 1759, generally called the Prideaux-Johnson Orderly Book.

prisoners, five captains. . . and 12 subaltern officers." Johnson reported 63 of his own men killed and 185 wounded. The letter "F" on William Starling's powder horn designates "The Place Where the Oction of 24 July 1759" was fought.

Pouchot, straining his eyes from the Five Nations bastion in the fort, had watched his last great hope melt before English bullets and die a hundred horrible deaths in the woods under Johnson's scalping knives. He was in no mood to court a similar fate by waiting to be taken by assault. His men were exhausted from lack of sleep, the bedding all having been used for gun wadding. His batteries had burned up 24,000 pounds of powder and his cannon ball all been fired away. Only 140 muskets were still serviceable. He had lost 109 killed and wounded and 37 sick. Great holes in his walls invited assault. When Johnson demanded surrender, he was glad to comply. The English entered the fort on July 25, 1759, and received the capitulation.

Many English captives, including women and children, were found in the fort and freed. The French officers' ladies, their children, and the Roman Catholic chaplain were sent to Canada. Johnson "divided among the several [Indian] nations," so he confided to his Journal, "prisoners and scalps amounting to 246, of which 96 were prisoners." The remaining prisoners were sent under escort by way of Oswego to Albany, where 640 of them, 12 officers and a dozen women, arrived on August 12th and from there were taken to New York. A few exchanges were made, particularly of officers, but the rest had to be cared for. Four hundred were sent to Connecticut—a hundred to Fairfield, where William Starling had been born, and twice that number to his home town of Norwalk. Thus the prisoners he had helped to capture looked upon his loved ones long before he was again able to do so.

On August 2d, Sir William left Fort Niagara in the possession of a strong garrison and, firm in the knowledge that his victory had secured America for the Empire and renown for himself, took his troops to Oswego, surrendered his command to General

Gage, dismissed his Indians, and went home. Gage saw the 44th and 46th Regiments off to fresh assignments and hurried into winter quarters at Albany. The Provincials, having remained a month beyond their term in order to complete Fort Ontario, dispersed at the end of November to their homes. And the 4th Battalion of Royal Americans settled down with Colonel Haldimand to spend a dreary winter in his new fort on the Oswego.

No doubt it was during these long winter months, cooped up in Fort Ontario with time heavy on his hands, that William Starling began the intricate carving of his historic powder horn. It was a tedious task tenderly done and not until the middle of the following summer was he ready to engrave his name upon the finished product, with the date: "July 17–1760." There is the possibility, of course, that Starling hired some professional craftsman among his fellows to do the engraving for him, perhaps by assuming double-duty at walking guard or other distasteful tasks, and certainly the quality of the craftsmanship suggests a well-trained hand.[11] But there is no good reason why Starling himself, at his store in Norwalk, might not have acquired the requisite talent through previous years of practice for his customers.

Whoever made the horn must have had access to an accurately detailed engineer's drawing of Fort Niagara, and no map anywhere nearly so good as Starling's was available to the British before the fort capitulated or, in print, for three years thereafter.[12]

[11] The insertion by a caret of the letter "L" in Starling's name might also seem to indicate, though by no means conclusively, that another did the engraving. But a comparatively unlettered man (his father, though a prosperous businessman, had to sign his documents with an X), concentrating upon his graver rather than the uncertain spelling of his name, might easily have skipped a letter.

[12] The first detailed map and plan of Fort Niagara to reach the public was the one advertised by Michael De Bruls in *The American Chronicle* of April 19, 1762, for issuance on subscription "before the last day of June next." It was engraved on copper "from a sketch on the spot by George Demler, engineer," and was dedicated to Sir William Johnson. John Pintard gave the Society a print from this copperplate in 1809. From the Society's copy the following buildings shown within the fort on Starling's horn-map but not listed in his key may be identified:

The triangular projection at the bottom of the fort is the Ravelin; and the long house just within the wall above it, the double barracks.

Above the barracks, the small steepled building is the "very handsome chapel," where Colonel Johnstone and General Prideaux were reburied after the capitulation

When Johnson and Amherst were preparing the campaign, they had had to rely upon the reports of Indian spies and a crude Indian sketch of the fort—"the best to be had"— which Sir William apologetically enclosed to the General. But Governor Pouchot had a splendid engineer's map within the fort (now in the British Museum) and, as Johnson immediately ordered "the assistant Quartermaster General and the Clerk of the stores to take an account of" everything the captured fort contained, what soldier would have had more likely surveillance of Pouchot's map than storekeeper William Starling? The work of the army of that day was usually accomplished by allotting to each soldier the tasks for which his civilian employment had best fitted him. "Storekeepers" are few indeed on the muster rolls extant, so in all probability Starling's special duties were connected with the office of "the Clerk of the stores." We may assume that, with his horn in mind, he made good use of any maps and plans that fell under his eye, correcting and amplifying his sketches from personal observation.

One further fact about the horn adds weight to the conclusion that Starling was its maker and participated with the Royal

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and Chaplain John Ogilvie (later Rector of Trinity Parish) performed the first indoor Protestant service west of the Mohawk.

The cluster of buildings in the center immediately above the chapel consists of the smith's shop with barracks and huts for the artificers grouped around it.

The house against the upper wall immediately above the smith's-shop cluster is a barracks and the one to the left of that, in front of "the little gate" which leads to the dockyard labeled "B" on the horn, is "the little stone house."

The great stone house, sometimes called the Citadel, the Castle, the Governor's House, or the Mess Hall, is the house which backs toward Lake Ontario in the upper right-hand corner of the fort-plan. This is the "House of Peace" which survived from 1726 as the nucleus of the fort.

The house near the center of the right wall is the hospital; that near the center of the left wall, the stone powder magazine, constructed in 1757, as the date cut into one of its stones still shows.

The little building at the left of the chapel on the horn but not shown on the Grider drawing is probably intended for the Guard House, though slightly misplaced by comparison with the Demler plan.

Still surviving from 1759 within the present Fort Niagara, now preserved as a National Monument, are: (1) the original 1725 foundations of "The Castle," (2) the Magazine, and (3) the stone barracks.

Americans in the capture of Niagara. In keeping with common practice, he would have wanted his own powder horn to reflect his own adventures. As a participant with the 4th Battalion he would have been sure to locate "The Place Where the Oction of 24 July 1759" was fought, and he did so. As one of the winter garrison at new Fort Ontario, he would have been sure to show its plan and place, and he did so. But had he faked the whole thing (an impossibility in 1760, two years before an adequate map of Niagara had been published) or left the work to another, there is no reason why the important action of July 5, 1759, when Haldimand repulsed La Corne's attack at Oswego, would not have loomed equally large in the engraver's mind and also be recorded on the horn. Since Starling's horn is innocent of any reference to that victory, we must conclude that it is an honest record of its owner's service and consistent only with his history as here portrayed.

Returning to Wilton Parish in Norwalk, William Starling lived out a long and peaceful life to the usual rural rhythm of marriages, births, and deaths. His aging father divided his holdings among his sons (to William "¾ parts of all my sedge Marsh in Fairfield") and spent his last days in Norwalk, where he died on May 18, 1771. William administered the will. On April 8, 1779, William, Jr., who lived his whole life (1755–1828) on his father's lands, married Rhoda Hurlbutt of Wilton, and the following year presented to William Starling his first grandson, Nathaniel (1780–1860), who became a carpenter and master-builder in his native town. The census of 1790 shows the Starling family to be a growing one. Both William, Sr., and William, Jr., are listed as of Norwalk, the latter "with 5 boys and 4 women." William Starling died, May 12, 1801, and lies in the Sharp Hill burying ground "south of the M. E. Church in Wilton."

But what became of the powder horn and how did it migrate to the Vrooman family of New York, whence it came through Mr. Zabriskie's generosity to this Society? We cannot say for sure, but this is how it may have happened:

William Starling had a younger brother Samuel (born at Fairfield, 1721) whose son Samuel, Jr., celebrated his fourteenth birthday in the very year that Uncle William had carved his name upon his famous horn. We can picture the nephew at the feet of the returned veteran, listening gape-mouthed to bloody accounts of the scalpings and hair-breadth escapes of the "Oction of 24 July 1759," tracing each movement on the beautiful powder horn until his whole life's desire concentrated upon possession of that wondrous souvenir. We can picture the uncle, flattered by a hero-worship his own son was too young fully to give him, making the generous gesture and bestowing the priceless gift.

Assuming that it happened in this or some other natural way, the horn then passed from nephew Samuel to his son Isaac (born in Wilton, 1772); from him to his son Henry (born in Pennsylvania, 1795); and from Henry to his daughter Loretta Sterling (the spelling had reverted after William Starling's death) who was born at Saltfleet, on Lake Ontario not far west of Fort Niagara, on March 29, 1827. Loretta married Adam B. Vrooman, the son of Solomon Vrooman of Schoharie, New York, on February 24, 1846, and the name "William Sterling Vrooman" survives among her descendants to this day. Though we have been unable to determine her connection with the Clarence P. Vrooman who owned the horn "at Tribes Hill, N. Y.," in 1897, it would tax our credulity to suppose that the horn came to him by any other path.

No record states that William Starling of Norwalk, Connecticut, served in the Niagara campaign of 1759; no record shows that he owned a powder horn, much less made the one in question; but so many independent circumstances point in his direction that we may take them all together as constituting near-conclusive proof.

GEORGE HARVEY AND HIS ATMOSPHERIC LANDSCAPES OF NORTH AMERICA

by Donald A. Shelley

IN 1946, because of the richness of the Society's collection, it was possible to show in one gallery all but one of William G. Wall's original watercolors for his *Hudson River Portfolio* which had appeared up to that time. This was followed in October, November, and December of 1947 by the first comprehensive assemblage of the works of William Rickarby Miller, forgotten painter of the mid-19th century. And now, thanks to the generosity of our trustee, Mr. Charles E. Dunlap, the Society is able to present a one-man exhibition of the works of George Harvey, one of the most gifted and perceptive of the Anglo-American artists to paint the American scene.

The Harvey exhibition currently being shown in the Painting Gallery on the fourth floor is comprised chiefly of Mr. Dunlap's recent gift of 18 original Harvey watercolors and three oil paintings, augmented by a few additional related items lent from public and private collections. In it are featured the artist's original paintings for what would have been perhaps the loveliest set of prints of early American views ever made, had it actually been published. That Harvey did not limit himself to landscape alone, however, will be evident from the still life, genre subjects, and miniatures shown. Architecture, it will be remembered, was also one of Harvey's accomplishments for he assisted Washington Irving in remodelling *Sunnyside* in 1835, just at the time when he first conceived the plan for his *Atmospheric Landscapes of North America.*

George Harvey, in this project, had a great deal in common with William G. Wall. Like Wall, Harvey responded to the manifold aspects of the American landscape, endeavored to cap-

SUN NEAR SETTING

"Jersey City, from the foot of Courtland-Street, N. Y."
Original watercolor by George Harvey
Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap, 1947

ture them in watercolor, and was a fairly constant exhibitor at the National Academy of Design. In contrast to Wall, who had presented in his *Hudson River Portfolio* the scenery of the river from its source to its mouth, Harvey sought to capture in a series of 40 watercolors the distinctive character of our landscape in the different seasons of the year and at various times of the day.

That Harvey was eminently successful in what he set out to do is evident not only from the beauty and richness of the watercolors themselves but also from the opinions expressed in his day by such critics as Washington Allston, who said: "To me it appears that Mr. Harvey has not only been successful in giving the character of our Scenery, but remarkably happy in clothing it with an American atmosphere, which he has expressed with equal truth and variety." A writer for the *National Intelligencer* in Washington wrote: "It is worth every one's while to see this delicious work, and every person of easy means should subscribe for a copy of the Engravings." Charles Lanman, in his *Letters*

from a Landscape Painter (1845, p. 254), spoke of him as a "landscape painter of rare merit" whose watercolors were executed "in a style of uncommon beauty. He is a good draftsman, and possesses a remarkable eye for color, and everything from his pencil teems with sentiment and poetry. His contemplated work of 'American Scenery,' when published after his own expensive plan, will be an invaluable acquisition to our treasury of art, and I hope that it may be received by the public with the favor it so richly deserves."

Unfortunately for us today, this did not happen. Harvey's plan to issue his "Superb Royal Folio Work of American Scenery" in 8 Numbers (or Parts) of 5 Plates each was not fulfilled. In contrast to this, it will be recalled that during the two previous decades Audubon had succeeded in publishing in 87 parts his 435 double or elephant folio engravings of the *Birds of America*, though they had a much more limited appeal. Neither the technical perfection of Harvey's watercolors, the patronage of the Queen of England, nor the broader appeal of his subject matter could combat the panics (American of 1843 and English of 1847) and the financial difficulties which beset his efforts. Of the 40 *Atmospheric Landscapes* which he had hoped to publish in the form of hand-colored aquatint engravings under the title of "Harvey's American Scenery," only the watercolors of the *Four Seasons* or "Epochs of the Year" were published as Part I and under the altered title of "Harvey's Scenes of the Primitive Forest of America."

The Society is fortunate in having in its Library a bound copy of this set of the *Four Seasons* which provides on the outside of the back cover a complete list of the plates in the sequence Harvey planned to publish them. This folio includes the dedication leaf to Queen Victoria, a page of descriptive text written by Harvey and edited by Washington Irving to accompany each of the four subjects, and bears the following imprint: "London: / Published by George Harvey, 16, Foley Place, Great Portland Street & Messrs. Ackermann & Co. Strand. / Printed by Johnson

& Co., 10, Brooke Street, Holborn. / 1841." An American edition, also containing the dedication leaf, carries the imprint: "New York: Published by George Harvey, Office 8, Fulton Street, / Printed by Charles Vinten, 63, Vesey Street, near Greenwich. / 1841." It is the publication of his watercolors in New York, the local subjects included in Harvey's list, and his activity in the New York area, which make him of particular interest to the Society.

George Harvey was born in England about 1800 and arrived in America in 1820, two years after William G. Wall. After several years of traveling "in the remote wilds of the New World, hunting and trapping, scribbling poetry and prose, drawing and sketching," he was elected an Associate Member of the National Academy of Design in 1828. He then set himself up as a miniature-painter in Boston where he states that he painted "upwards of four hundred" miniatures! The assiduity with which he pursued his art so impaired his health that about 1836 he purchased a tract of land along the River at Hastings-on-Hudson, where he might lead a less sedentary life, building a cottage according to his own plans and laying out the grounds. How his ideas for his landscapes developed at this time is told by Harvey himself in the Preface to the *Four Seasons:* "These exercises in the open air, led me more and more to notice and study the ever-varying atmospheric effects of this beautiful climate. I undertook to illustrate them by my pencil, and thus, almost accidentally, commenced a set of Atmospherical Landscapes." Quite a few of these he included in the 1837 exhibition of the National Academy.

Although Harvey was encouraged at Paris by General Cass, United States Minister to France to whom he had shown 22 of his watercolors in 1838, and at London by Queen Victoria; and although highly praised at Boston by Washington Allston, at New York by S. F. B. Morse, and at Philadelphia by Thomas Sully, the publication of his *Atmospheric Landscapes* never progressed beyond the *Four Seasons*. These were engraved in 1841 by William J. Bennett, the foremost engraver of the day, and

EARLY TWILIGHT

"Kaatskill Landing, from East bank of the Hudson"
Original watercolor by George Harvey

Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap, 1947

give an excellent idea of the artistic success which would have been achieved had the entire set of views been published.

While little is known of Harvey's life after 1850, his continued production of several series of landscapes is established by various letters, pamphlets, and catalogues that have survived which refer to works on Florida, to 13 landscapes taken in the vicinity of Newport, R. I., and to 116 "Oil Paintings and Watercolor Drawings, the property of George Harvey, Esq., late of Bermuda." This latter catalogue includes "26 sketches of Scenery in Bermuda," "Twelve finished Drawings in Newport, Rhode Island," "Eleven Views in Florida," a "Miscellaneous Collection of [47] Finished Drawings," and 19 "Oil Paintings . . . all by Mr. George Harvey." The interesting facts of George Harvey's life, which came to an end in 1878, are given in greater detail by

Barbara N. Parker in her excellent article published in the *Bulletin* of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (February, 1943).

In spite of the enthusiastic praise of his contemporaries, Harvey was completely overlooked by Dunlap, Tuckerman, and Clement and Hutton. Interest in his work was re-awakened only when Kennedy and Company secured a collection of Harvey's watercolors from some descendants in England and exhibited them here in New York in 1940, exactly 100 years after they had first been shown in Boston. Indicative of the paucity of precise information about the artist is the fact that everything published to date depends wholly upon the material Harvey himself supplied in the Preface to his *Four Seasons* and upon a few letters and pamphlets which accompanied Kennedy and Company's collection of watercolors. Several basic questions still remain unanswered: What kind of work did Harvey produce prior to 1828 which caused him to be elected an Associate of the National Academy, and where are those paintings? What has become of the "upwards of four hundred" miniatures he executed in Boston? What became of the various series of landscapes he painted after 1850 and what was his technique in later life?

In the hope that more precise information concerning these problems might be forthcoming it was decided to bring together a representative selection of his works. Mr. Dunlap's extensive gift, which establishes this Society as the largest single repository of Harvey's paintings, makes our galleries the logical place for such an exhibition.

Inasmuch as the *Atmospheric Landscapes* constitute Harvey's chief claim to fame, the exhibition focuses attention upon his original watercolors for these subjects. A brief examination of them will explain the multiplicity of their appeal and the reasons why Harvey is being revaluated today by historians of American art.

That this appeal, apart from their aesthetic charm, derives from the geographical scope, regional flavor, atmospheric treatment, and historical authenticity of his subject matter is revealed by an examination of the titles of the landscapes. In addition to the

SUN-RISE

"A distant view of Flatbush, Long Island, and the Ocean"
Original watercolor by George Harvey

Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap, 1947

Middle Atlantic States, he must have visited Virginia, Ohio, "near the South Line of Michigan," and as far west as the prairies; Upper and Western Canada is likewise included. Whatever the locale may be, the action or incident Harvey represents is characteristic of the region. In only one case (No. 5), does he draw upon a literary theme suggested by a contemporary of his, James Fenimore Cooper. Otherwise, he depends solely upon nature's own phenomena: the changing effects of atmosphere and light from "Day-Break" through "Midnight," especially as they are affected by the four seasons, the time of day, and the direction of the view (looking north, south, etc.). In presenting this kind of subject matter, Harvey's watercolors are perhaps unique in the field of American art.

The *Atmospheric Landscapes* are unusual also for the technique they employ. Frequently showing relatively large figures broadly brushed into the foreground, in reality they depend chiefly upon a method Harvey knew well from his experience as a miniature painter—the stipple technique. So carefully does

Harvey place his tiny spots of color side by side, and so accurate is his sense of values, that reduction of some of the watercolors to black and white photography at once destroys the vibrant charm of the original. Actually, Harvey employs his own type of *pointillism* here in America in advance of French artists like Seurat and Pissarro, much in the same way that William R. Miller in his *Self-Portrait*, painted at Weehawken in 1848, antedates French *plein-airism*.

The list of Harvey's *Atmospheric Landscapes* which follows is taken directly from the artist's titles as given on the back cover of the *Four Seasons*. The Society's holdings are indicated by the addition of medium, measurements, and inscription. Those few of the Society's exhibition entries which were not part of Mr. Dunlap's generous gift have been so indicated:

ATMOSPHERIC LANDSCAPES

EPOCHS OF THE YEAR

1. Spring—Burning Trees, in a Girdled Clearing, Western scene
2. Summer—A Road Accident, Thornville, Ohio, through an opening of the Forest
   Watercolor. $13\frac{7}{8}$ x $10\frac{5}{16}$ inches. Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"
3. Autumn—Crossing the Ford, Gigantic Sycamores, Owl Creek, Ohio
4. Winter—Impeded Travellers in a Pine Forest, Canada

THE DIFFERENT EPOCHS OF DAY

5. Day Break—Leather Stocking's Expedient, vide Cooper's Prairie, vol 2nd.
   Watercolor. $8\frac{3}{8}$ x $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"
6. Sun-Rise—A distant view of Flatbush, L. I., and the Ocean
   Watercolor. $8\frac{7}{16}$ x $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"
7. Sun Rising—Aqueduct on the Pennsylvania Canal, near Hollidaysburgh
   Watercolor. $8\frac{3}{8}$ x $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Signed, bottom center: "G. Harvey"
8. Misty Morning—Saw Mill, near Toronto, Upper Canada
9. A Gleamy Effect—Hollidaysburgh, Pennsylvania
10. Morning Rainbow—From the grounds of R. Donaldson, Esq., Duchess County, N. Y.
11. Spring Scene, After Rain—"Woolfert's Roost," the Residence of Washington Irving, Esq.
12. An Autumnal Fog—Cataract on the estate of R. Donaldson, Esq., N. Y.

13. Morning Sky—Mountains, from near Kaatskill Village

14. Cirro Cumuli, Clouds—Houses on a Tobacco Plantation, Virginia
Watercolor. 8⅜ x 13⅝ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

15. Cumulus, or Thunder Cloud—Portland Pier, Lake Erie, Pennsylvania
Watercolor. 8 5/16 x 13⅝ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

16. Cirrus Cloud Changing to Cumuli—Kenyon College, Gambia, Ohio, (Autumnal)

17. Indian Summer—Grist Mill, on the Fredericktown Rail-road, Maryland
Watercolor. 8⅜ x 13¾ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

18. Rain Clouds Gathering—Scene amongst the Alleghany Mountains

19. Rain Storm—Cider Mill, at Reading, Connecticut

20. Snow Storm—New Settlers making Maple Sugar, U. C.
Watercolor. 10 1/16 x 13¾ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

21. Wind Storm—The Mouth of a Coal Mine, near Wheeling, Virginia

22. Thunder Storm—Shore at Long Branch, New Jersey—high tide
Watercolor. 8 7/16 x 13¾ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

23. Subsiding Storm—Mountain Scene

24. Hazy—Composition

25. A Mottled Sky—Mill Dam, at Mount Vernon, Ohio

26. Noon—Farm Buildings, near the South Line of Michigan

27. Afternoon Rainbow—Boston Common, from Charles Street Mall

28. Afternoon—Hasting's Landing, Palisade Rocks in shadow, N.Y.

29. A Sultry Calm—Pitsford, on the Erie Canal, N.Y.

30. A Brilliant Afternoon—Niagara Falls, from the Canada Side

31. Afternoon, Looking North—Scene on the Potomac, Virginia
Watercolor. 8⅜ x 13⅝ inches.
No signature.

32. Sun Near Setting—Jersey City, from the foot of Courtland-street, N. Y.
Watercolor. 8⅜ x 13⅝ inches.
No signature.

33. Shadows of Evening—Canal Scene, amidst the Alleghany Mountains, Penn
Watercolor. 8 5/16 x 13⅝ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

34. Sunset—The Outlet of Cayuga and Seneca Lakes, N. Y.
Watercolor. 8⅜ x 13⅝ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

35. Early Twilight—Kaatskill Landing, from East bank of the Hudson
Watercolor. 10¼ x 14¾ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

36. Evening Twilight Bow—Light Houses on the Highlands of Neversink, N. J.
Watercolor. 8⅜ x 13⅝ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

37. Night-Fall—St. Thomas' Church, Broadway, N. Y.

38. Moon Rising—Western Prairie—Hunters aroused
Watercolor. 8⅜ x 13⅝ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

39. Midnight—Aurora Borealis, Fishing by torchlight

40. Title Page—Emblematic of the Progress of Civilization, from the Log Cabin, to the highest achievement in Architecture and Commerce

ADDITIONAL HARVEY SUBJECTS

MISCELLANEOUS WATERCOLORS

Moonlit Pool With Heron
Watercolor. 13⅝ x 10⅜ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"

A Torrent in a Rocky Ravine
Watercolor. 10 7/16 x 13⅞ inches.
No signature.

A Cedar Swamp

Scenery in Ulster County, N. Y., 1828—Page from the John Ludlow Morton book of artists' sketches
Watercolor. 4¼ x 6⅛ inches.
Signed, lower right: "G. Harvey"
Bequest of Emily (Ellison) Post, 1944

PRINTS AFTER HARVEY

Harvey's Scenes of the Primitive Forest of America at the Four Seasons of the Year: "Spring," "Summer," "Autumn," "Winter."
Gift of Mr. Daniel Parish, Jr., 1909

Van Tassel's House
Bequest of Miss Anne C. Hood, 1947

View of Concord, New Hampshire, 1853
Gift of Mr. Daniel Parish, Jr., 1904

OIL PAINTINGS

The Apostle's Oak, 1844
Oil on wood panel. 17 x 14 inches.
Signed and dated, lower right: "G. Harvey/1844"

Scene on the Erie Canal
Oil on canvas. 15½ x 20½ inches.

Tulips and Roses
Oil on millboard. 16⅜ x 12 inches.
Signed and dated, lower right: "G. Harvey/1847"
From the Robert L. Stuart Collection

View near Cazenovia, New York
Oil on canvas. 33¼ x 48¼ inches.

Grateful acknowledgement is due the following individuals, galleries, and museums for their kind coöperation in lending original watercolors, oil paintings, and miniatures necessary to make the exhibition more comprehensive: The Brooklyn Museum; Mr. Charles A. Carpenter; Mr. J. Herbert Carpenter, Jr.; Mr. Stephen L. Carpenter; Mrs. Herbert C. Gerlach; Kennedy and Company; Mrs. Frederick A. Lydecker; The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Harry Shaw Newman Gallery; New York State Historical Association; Mr. Perry T. Rathbone; Mrs. William Thomas; Mr. Hermann Wunderlich.

AMERICAN QUILTS: AN EXHIBITION

by Richard J. Koke

ON FEBRUARY 4th the Society presented for public perusal a special exhibition of American Quilts, a well-loved type of folk art characteristic of American life for three hundred years. From the Society's collection and from the collections of Mrs. Florence Peto, the Hudson River Museum at Yonkers, and the Washington Headquarters Association we have gathered and placed on display fifty-two quilted bedspreads, with associated material, covering the period *c.* 1770 to modern times. The exhibit seeks to tell what quilts were, how they were made, and what went into their making.

Few objects of American folk art are more representative of the aesthetic craving, the character, the temperament, and the activity of the women who designed and made them. "Quilting" itself is a term given to the actual process of fastening together by a running stitch two layers of cloth separated by a cotton or wool interlining. Any article with stitched interlining may be called a "quilt," but usage restricted the meaning until it now refers to a special type of bed covering. Draperies and coverings were not the only items of quilted design. There were others such as chair pads, parasols, waistcoats, and, for the ladies, petticoats and skirts.

Though the origin of quilting is lost in antiquity and its pictorial forms were practiced in medieval Europe, this unique needlecraft has nevertheless become closely associated with American tradition. The French and Spaniards brought pennants and garments with quilted trimmings to the New World, but quilt-making, as we know it, was introduced to the North American continent by Dutch and English housewives. Warm quilted bedspreads and door and window hangings to guard against cold drafts and winter weather were vital necessities in the Colonial home. Only after the utilitarian need for bed coverings had been

AMERICAN QUILTS EXHIBITION

A view of one of the galleries showing, from left to right: Pin Cushion Quilt, Irish Chain-Pattern Quilt, Autograph Bridal Quilt, Tulip-Design Crib Quilt, Sunburst Quilt, Star of Bethlehem Quilt, and Mariner's Compass Quilt.

filled, did quilt-making for display develop into an artistic outlet.

Many motives influenced women to piece quilts. Sometimes they desired a bed covering or wanted to make a gift. Sometimes they sought expression for their love of color and yearning for decoration. Sometimes quilt-making served as a relaxation for restless fingers. And in numerous women there existed an intense love of needlecraft for its own sake. Many of the most beautiful quilts were quilted in lonely homes and in remote hamlets. Indeed, no social function was more popular in 19th-century America than the "quilting bee," where ladies gathered at the quilting frame beside the warm fire and stitched and gossiped and formed friendships.

The colorful designs on flamboyant quilt-tops were made from every available scrap of material. Calicoes, printed cottons, India chintzes, and palampours were great favorites. Discarded

items of wearing apparel and pieces of cloth exchanged by neighbors and friends were saved in the scrap bag for future use. Even fragile silks, satins, velvets, and fine linens—once shunned because of their lack of durability—became favorites for the popular "crazy quilts" of the late 19th century.

The striking variety of design and motif, either as repeat or over-all pattern, impresses the onlooker immediately. Early quilt-makers were often uninstructed in design or in the use of color, but they, in their humble way, created magnificent examples of quilt art. The technique of *pieced work* has resulted in such expert geometric creations as the Society's "Sunburst Quilt" and the "Star of Bethlehem Quilt" in the Peto Collection. The technique of *appliqué*—where pieces of cloth cut to desired shapes were sewed to the plain background of quilt blocks—has resulted in a variety of designs of endless originality.

Color varied from the clash of harsh hues typical of Pennsylvania German quilts to a sensitive, almost pastel-like, blending of tones. However, some of the finest examples of quilt-making are found in white quilted bedspreads, which, in the total absence of color, depend for their beauty entirely on design and the perfection of quilting stitchery.

The identities of many quilt-makers have passed into oblivion, yet in these picturesque bed coverings is to be found something of the lives of thousands of women who are now unknown. Among the most interesting is the "Friendship" or "Autograph Quilt," usually intended as a gift. These are signed, sometimes dated, and often inscribed with sentimental verses appropriate for the occasion. It was common practice for members of sewing circles or church groups to design individual quilt blocks which later were incorporated into a quilt-top. In the Society's exhibit is a friendship quilt given as a wedding present to Frank H. Platt of New York City, *c.* 1875. The twenty quilt blocks were designed, initialed, and presented to the bridegroom by twenty of his young lady acquaintances! The lovely "Baldwin Quilt," owned by the Hudson River Museum, replete with scenes of

farm life, is likewise inscribed: *Anson Baldwin, Esq./Presented by the Ladies,/Yonkers, October 1847.*

Innumerable are the names with which quilts have been christened. Marie D. Webster, in her *Quilts: Their Story and How to Make Them*, lists over six hundred names—and this is but a fraction. The names of many quilts, from their motifs, can be surmised at once. It is fascinating to come across these bed coverings with such names as the "Orange Peel Quilt," "Whig Rose Quilt," "Lobster Quilt," "Tree of Life Quilt," and scores of others.

Constant handling and laundering resulted in the loss of many quilts. Today authentic 18th-century examples are rare. The majority which have survived, carefully preserved in storage and cedar chests, are of 19th-century origin. But quilt-making, in spite of industrial change and the decline of hand-sewing activity after the introduction of the sewing machine, never died out. Properly, quilts should be made only by hand. Societies, magazines, folk-art groups, and fairs have done much to foster again an appreciation of the quilting art, and even today in the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky quilt-making is practiced as in the days of our foremothers.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Niles' Weekly Register: News Magazine of the Nineteenth Century. By Norval Neil Luxon. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947. vii + 337 pages, illus., index. $5.00.)

In the last chapter of this book, its author insists that newspaper materials "should be carefully checked and critically examined" by students of history, "and accepted only after being exposed to an intelligent skepticism based upon a thorough knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the event on the issue described in print." This may seem a needless reaffirmation of an axiom; but books appear frequently, especially in the field of biography, in which contemporary printed comment is uncritically accepted. Dr. Luxon could have gone much further and insisted upon an examination of the personalities behind the newspaper story and the circumstances behind the production of a periodical as evidence in respect to its reliability.

The purpose of the present book is to furnish precisely such evidence with regard to *Niles' Weekly Register*. This is an important service to historiographers, since the *Register* has been accepted for the past hundred years as a reliable chronicle of the years 1811–1849. That such acceptance has been justified must be the conclusion of the reader of this book, for Hezekiah Niles and his editorial successors were conscientiously laboring as contemporary historians; yet one must bear in mind the periodical's early allegiance to Clay and the American System. "To the future historian," wrote the last editor, George Beatty, in 1848, "we commit the record, and await the judgment with full confidence."

Dr. Luxon is a professor of journalism at Ohio State University, and this is his doctoral dissertation. In his first chapter he gives a history of the *Register* and follows this with studies of the editors—Hezekiah Niles, the founder; his son, William Ogden Niles; and the later owners and editors, Jeremiah Hughes and George Beatty. A general chapter on "News and Editorials" follows, detailing the propaganda interests of the elder Niles in favor of the protective tariff, aid to western development, and so on, and showing also the paper's fair treatment to the opposition—an unusual feature of the journalism of those times. After the defeat of Clay in 1832, the paper adopted the policy on which the *Literary Digest* was founded many years later, giving a fair selection of newspaper comment and largely abandoning its own strong editorial positions.

Chapters are provided on the *Register's* handling of politics, the tariff, the United States Bank, Anglo-American relations (the paper was anglophobe), Latin America, the West, developments in transportation, and slavery. Then there is a final chapter on "The *Register* and the Historian," an excellent critical essay on authorities, and a good index. On the whole, the book is competent and valuable.

The Louisiana State University Press has done an unusual job of production for these times, and the book is a handsome one, with a portrait

of the founder and facsimile reproductions of three front pages of the *Register.*

FRANK LUTHER MOTT

University of Missouri

American Painting: First Flowers of Our Wilderness. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. A Life-in-America Prize Book. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1947. xxii + 368 pages, biblio., index, 162 reproductions, 9 in color. $10.00.)

This is the first of a series of books in which Mr. Flexner hopes to show "the relationship between life in America and the long tradition of American painting" (p. ix). The series was launched auspiciously by a Library of Congress Grant-in-Aid to the present volume and by a $2,500 Houghton, Mifflin prize for its "Life in America" series. It is Mr. Flexner's view that the artist, like all the rest of us, is a product of the age in which he lives. As painting is the focus of the author's interest, he professes to "have kept it under the center of my lens" (pp. ix, xii).

This review, drawing upon a dozen years of independent investigation by this reviewer in related fields, will be devoted to Mr. Flexner's treatment of pre-Revolutionary American life and especially of painting as one of its manifestations. Out of deference to the readers of the *Quarterly*, particular attention will be given to these subjects in the Empire State; indeed, if Robert Feke be included as a New Yorker, the author himself devotes relatively more attention to New York than to any other culture area.

One should not dogmatize upon the method of an author. Nevertheless, the reader is immediately struck by the insufficiency of Mr. Flexner's evidence—his failure, for instance, to show signs of familiarity with the 17th- or 18th-century manuscripts or even with some of the obvious primary sources in print. This gets him into trouble when he derives his own rendition of an 18th-century document from a secondary account rather than from the original either in manuscript or the competent printed transcription. After mentioning "Robert Feke Jur" [*sic*], Mr. Flexner adds, "I have never been able to find in any historical dictionary that 'junior' was ever abbreviated 'jur.' [*sic*] Could the reference be to 'juror,' i.e. 'swearer'?" The author's caprice in this instance goes even farther than rendering the same transcription once with, and once without, the capital letter, for the correct rendition is "Ju^{r}," the usual 18th-century abbreviation for "Junior." Of course, no historical dictionary could be expected to explain such a mistranscription of a common 18th-century abbreviation. This is important only insofar as it shows the type of method employed by the author in his case against the painter Robert Feke's Oyster Bay origins.

W. Phoenix Belknap (a student otherwise unknown to me) in "The Identity of Robert Feke," *Art Bulletin*, XXIX (Sept. 1947), 201–7, makes it abundantly clear that Flexner's chapter on Feke is not based on a personal study of the primary sources essential for an understanding of the

artist's background or of the full weight of scholarly authority in the secondary writings which Flexner so lightly dismisses. Had Mr. Flexner consulted even the printed transcriptions of *Oyster Bay Town Records*, particularly Vol. IV (1721–1732), he would have found ample evidence of the simultaneous existence of the Robert Fekes, "Sen^{r}" and "Ju^{r}," and of the far-fetchedness of his attempt to explain away the latter.

In strictly historical matters, the author seldom cites the evidence upon which his assertions are based, but it is noteworthy that he makes no reference to any of the following specialists on American life in the 18th century: H. L. Osgood, Charles M. Andrews, Evarts B. Greene, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Dixon Ryan Fox, or T. J. Wertenbaker. He ignores the *History of American Life* series as well as the *History of New York State* edited by Alexander C. Flick, both of which contain an invaluable supply of bibliographical citations.

Naturally, there are undocumented misstatements of historical fact, ranging from such minor ones as twice referring to Homer Eaton Keyes (1875–1938), late scholarly editor of *The Magazine Antiques*, as Homer *Martin* Keyes, to relatively major ones like the following: On page 190, Mr. Flexner says without documentation that Francis Hopkinson designed the American flag. G.E. Hastings in his *Francis Hopkinson* (revision of a Harvard doctoral dissertation) says on page 254 that nobody knows who designed the American flag, and the chief U.S. Government authority on the flag says he certainly does not know who designed it.

In a sense, however, Mr. Flexner's neglect of the usual primary and secondary sources, is irrelevant. His forte is rather a feeling—a mood. The fifty years preceding 1774 (when his book closes) were the formative years for the "Revolutionary Generation." Then, Franklin was a printer, Roger Sherman was a shoemaker, Washington a militia officer, and the mind of young Thomas Jefferson was beginning to explore the universe with a curiosity that he never lost. In a way, all these men were art patrons, but that fact is generally lost in the magnificence of their other contributions. This was a period of vigorous life, when colonial Americans were working, thinking, loving, hating, buying an occasional picture, and laying the foundations for a nation. The author's historical discussion does not deal directly with these realities. His is an enchanted world, a beautiful dream, and the narrative is a lyric with many a subtle cadence, a paean of "innocence and joy." (p. 89)

We may turn now to a different phase of the author's work, that toward which his main attention was centered, which he kept constantly before the focus of his lens (p. xii), namely, the painting of colonial America. A few words of background are necessary before the nature and extent of Mr. Flexner's contributions can be measured. America has had a lively and productive lot of art historians from 1834 to date. But only one of them ever devoted himself almost exclusively for more than a score of years to a detailed, institution-by-institution, house-to-house study of America's pictorial heritage, did it with zest and set examples of workmanship so high in his field that no one yet has approached them.

That man was the late William Sawitzky. In 1941–42, at The New-York Historical Society and under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Sawitzky summarized the researches of his lifetime as well as the techniques of investigation which he had used. The late A. J. Wall, then Director of the Society, recognizing the importance of these lectures, saw to it that a full record was made of them. One student who sat gratefully at Sawitzky's feet was the present reviewer. James Thomas Flexner was also there. His bibliography notes the fact that he used the manuscripts of the Sawitzky lectures in preparing the work now undergoing review.

In general, Mr. Flexner's broad outlines of the field and his relative amounts of attention devoted to the various artists are not too dissimilar to Sawitzky's. There the similarity ends. In methods of study and in techniques of attribution, the two men are at opposite poles.

Sawitzky believed there was nothing like seeing the picture itself, and traveled the length of the Atlantic Coast and in the West to New Orleans and throughout the Mississippi-Ohio Valley regions. Mr. Flexner produces no evidence of having inspected colonial paintings south of Washington, D. C., or—in New York City, where he now resides—of having taken a look at the interesting collections of Trinity and Collegiate Churches or at the highly significant though small private collection shortly to be mentioned. Also, the fundamental principle that an art historian shall give indication of what paintings he has actually seen is rarely, if ever, followed by the author.

At The Frick Art Reference Library, with its 38,000 reproductions of early American paintings, Mr. Flexner seems to have missed some of the best of the 350 photographs of portraits painted in New York in or before 1800 which I found there more than ten years ago. Among those he missed are representations of the work of John Mare, presently to be discussed, and of a group of technically similar paintings done around New York City about 1762, two of which hang, in plain view, side by side at The New-York Historical Society. The problem relating to this latter group was discussed in my *William Samuel Johnson* (1937). Flexner ignores it.

Picture books also have received but irregular attention from Mr. Flexner. Maunsell Van Rensselaer's *Annals of the Van Rensselaer Family* (1888) contains some of the most baffling of the portraiture in early New York and I. N. P. Stokes, *Historical Prints* is indispensable, but neither volume is mentioned. The latter author's monumental *Iconography* is dismissed in a sentence or so. In short, Mr. Flexner displays as little evidence of having systematically explored the total body of pictorial evidence as of the written and printed documents.

The fact that colonial Americans enjoyed landscapes and still life, as well as the portraits which have come down to us, has long been known to specialists. I myself remarked on colonial landscape painting in 1937 and, if memory does not fail, Sawitzky discussed the subject in his lectures. He personally went over the whole field thoroughly with me, as did Theodore Bolton and the late John Hill Morgan. But no one yet had

discussed colonial "painting in all its branches" in a full chapter in a book prior to the volume under review. It is a most welcome and long-overdue chapter, despite the fact that the best of his illustrations have already appeared in Stokes' two books, which Flexner prefers, in the main to ignore.

To me, Mr. Flexner seems confused in the larger classifications of works of art. In mentioning Nehemiah Partridge's little exhibitions of moving ships and windmills (p. 66), Mr. Flexner brackets his discussion with *trompe d'oeil* (literally translated "fool the eye") painting. Generally, this type of painting is classified as still life. Curiously, Mr. Flexner omits all mention of the earliest *trompe d'oeil* ever known to have been painted in America, signed and dated 1767 by John Mare, the New York limner of *John Keteltas*. It was exhibited (No. 21) at the World's Fair Exhibition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and discussed as well as reproduced in their catalogue, *Life in America*. The Frick Library has or had an excellent reproduction, and the owners were most hospitable in welcoming me to see the original. The whole thing revolves around a common, or house, fly. It has settled on the left, white shirt sleeve of the sitter, ready to "fool the eye" of the first unwary spectator. An omission of the first, widely known *trompe d'oeil* in American art history is no small omission.

All students will be grateful for about 160 illustrations which the author reproduces. Nobody else has given us so much in a single volume. The black-and-whites, as a rule, are excellent, but the tones of the color plates are so unsatisfactory that they would have been better done in black and white.

The standards of inclusion require examining. Why was an inferior replica or copy of *Moses Levy* reproduced (p. 72), when the original is presumably in the hands of the same owners from whom the author secured permission to reproduce *Phila and David Franks?* (p. 88) *Christ at Emmaus* (p. 56) has no provenance to connect it with New York; the costumes are not compatible with any known New York paintings of the day, but seem rather reminiscent of costume in the Low Countries in the 1500's. Flexner attributes and reproduces another doubtful painting on the evidence of a photograph of a lost portrait. (p. 82)

In two instances the illustrations refute the text which accompanies them. The author quite properly emphasizes the predominantly aristocratic tone of colonial portraiture, but does not mention the corresponding realistic portraits; yet he reproduces *Pau de Wandelaer* (op. p. 80) and *Leonard Gansevoort* (p. 87), neither of which is "aristocratic" and both of which reflect the quiet beauty of the Hudson River country. Again, Mr. Flexner says (p. 79) that the painting of *Mrs. Van Alstyne* has two left hands, but reproduces her portrait showing her with two right hands.

One illustration of the author's techniques in matters of attribution will be sufficient for the specialist in that field. It is probably the strangest and most confusing story in the history of early American painting. The be-

ginnings may be found in Francis X. Harris, "Pieter Vanderlyn," The New-York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin,* V (Oct. 1921), 59–73. Harris was himself a painter and, in a way, his monograph is a model. He surveyed the contemporary manuscript and printed sources, he examined the manuscript secondary materials, such as a MS. Life of John Vanderlyn by M. Schoonmaker, then owned by Mrs. Ella Schoonmaker Darrow of Kingston, N. Y., and the relevant printed works. He stated that he found no contemporary evidence that Pieter Vanderlyn was a portrait painter, but that family tradition ascribed *Mrs. Petrus Vas* (p. 73) to the brush of Pieter Vanderlyn. The sitter is clad in brown, the drapery is blue, the whole tone is somber, her expression is reminiscent of "old, unhappy, far-off things." There is a group of portraits in which brown and other somber tones predominate and on which are frequently inscribed, in red on the front of the canvas, the age (*Ætatis*) of the sitter. Harris ascribed twenty-six paintings which he had seen (mainly *Ætatis* portraits) to Pieter Vanderlyn, largely on a basis of similarity of palette. He listed thirteen more which he thought, on personal inspection, might prove to be by Vanderlyn. The monograph was a research contribution of a high order, considering the relatively limited facilities of the day, but by the time I became aware of the problem (about 1936), attribution had been piled on attribution to such an extent that the files under Pieter Vanderlyn were a veritable madhouse of irreconcilable iconography.

In 1937 I noted in an article on "New York Painting before 1800" (*New York History* Jan. 1938, 44–57), that no available contemporary records mentioned Pieter Vanderlyn as a limner and that the work attributed to him required "careful re-examination." In the same article it was noted that there was at the Frick Library the photograph of a painting copied by John Vanderlyn II from a portrait painted in 1743 by Nicholas, son of Pieter Vanderlyn. In the same article, also, it was brought out that no less than seventeen limners were active in New York during the period when Pieter Vanderlyn was thought to have been active. In 1940–41, William Sawitzky stated his view that there was "no irrefutable proof" that P. Vanderlyn ever was a limner and he often said that only an exhibition where these paintings could be compared would result in satisfactory attributions. It was a clear case of scientific "suspension of judgment" until adequate data should be forthcoming.

Mr. Flexner simply did not advert to the presence of sixteen painters in competition with Vanderlyn, nor the complicating factor of the Nicholas Vanderlyn portrait dated 1743, but on the basis of a MS. Life of John Vanderlyn at The New-York Historical Society originally written about 1849, Mr. Flexner rediscovered the family tradition that Pieter Vanderlyn painted *Mrs. Petrus Vas.* I am familiar with this manuscript and cannot see that it alters in any material respect what Harris wrote in 1921.

Being something of an amateur folklorist, I haven't the faintest objection to tradition, but Mr. Flexner elsewhere in the volume (p. 291)

says "that family tradition is at best but a dubious hint" and, in the case of a tradition regarding Robert Feke, remarks that "Of course, none of this hearsay evidence, written down by anonymous individuals more than a century after the event, can be accepted without corroboration. . . ." (p. 303) (Mrs. Belknap, in the article mentioned above, showed that the authors were easily identifiable, and produced ample corroboration for Feke's Oyster Bay origins.) Opposed as he is to tradition as evidence on pages 291 and 303, he states that a portrait of "*Mrs. Petrus Vas* (1723) has been definitely identified" as the work of Pieter Vanderlyn (p. 76). If so, it was done from hearsay evidence written down more than a century after the event. Thus does Mr. Flexner's text refute itself from page to page.

But that is not all. Mr. Flexner states there are "close technical resemblances" (p. 76) between this somber "Vanderlyn" style and the lightest, gayest little group of paintings in early New York history. These paintings, which have been known to students for years, usually include an appealing little animal pet (a deer, dog, or lamb); the subjects generally are children; there is almost invariably a landscape background showing tall, feather-like cedar or poplar trees in moss green against a sky of approximately the color of what is called "old rose." In other words, the formula and color preferences of the painter of the latter group are as far from those of the painter of *Mrs. Vas* as bright colors are from somber and as gayety is from melancholy.

To conclude with the group formerly ascribed to Pieter Vanderlyn, one more comparison must be made. At the Society there is a portrait of *Thomas Van Alstyne* (p. 81) and in the City Hall in Albany there is a portrait of *Peter Schuyler* (p. 78) said to measure 86″ x 48½″. Both have been ascribed to the *Ætatis* painter because the coloring is of the same somber tones and the formula for painting both subjects included dark hats under the left arm, white gloves of the same pattern, falling in the same way over the left hand, and the right hand pointed outward and down, with the forefinger extended. I know both paintings but was unable to get a satisfactory light on the one at Albany. Mr. Flexner attributes them to different artists. In my opinion, no such differentiation can be attempted except by placing the two paintings side by side. If this has been done, the author does not say so. If not, he has no case at all.

In short, it is necessary for Mr. Flexner to prove that he has studied the essential data and utilized the techniques which are indispensable to sound conclusions in history, art, or both. It is regrettable that, in the present volume, he has not followed the scrupulous techniques of Sawitzky. It is hoped that, in future volumes, Mr. Flexner will irrefutably demonstrate that he knows whereof he writes. Meanwhile, the need for an authoritative study of painting in colonial America will continue to be acute.

GEORGE C. GROCE

Washington, D. C.

Howe & Hummel. Their True and Scandalous History. By Richard H. Rovere, with an introduction by James Garrett Wallace. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1947. 190 pages, illus. $2.75.)

You didn't have to be a crook in the Elegant Eighties or the Gay Nineties to know Howe & Hummel but, if you were a crook and didn't know them, then it was just too bad!

These were the days of high black shoes for men and women and of congress gaiters shined with Bixby's Best Blacking. The Seven Sutherland Sisters were proof of a marvelous hair tonic. No ladies smoked, men preferred pipes, and a popular slogan was: "Son, if that's Honest Long Cut, blow the smoke this way!" The popular weeklies were *Life*, *Puck*, *Judge*, and *Truth*, and six-day bicycle riders the top-notch athletes. Cocktails were two for a quarter, and an oyster stew after the theater was a sufficient repast. When a man, raising his glass, said, "Here's how!" a natural response was, "Here's Hummel!" That's how the firm stood—attorneys for the bankers, actors, society women, and the underworld.

Once when seventy-four madams were rounded up in a "purity" drive, every last one of them named Howe & Hummel as counsel, so 'twas not surprising that of the murderers and burglars held in the Tombs at one time all but two were clients of the same firm. In fact, the firm of Howe & Hummel chalked up a record by defending over 1,000 people indicted for murder or manslaughter during its existence, with Howe himself appearing in behalf of more than 650 of them. That, however, was only one side of the tracks. In the theatrical profession, clients were P. T. Barnum, Edwin Booth, Sir Henry Irving, Fay Templeton, Ned Harrigan, Tony Pastor, John Barrymore, Ada Rehan, Nat Goodwin, Lily Langtry, and just about everybody else of note. When Olga Nethersole, playing the title role in *Sapho*, was arrested for demonstrating the smoky embrace known as "the Nethersole kiss," Howe & Hummel explained that Miss Nethersole had given art a new dimension, and the Court agreed! They found loopholes large enough for convicted murderers to walk through standing up, according to the *New York Herald*, and anyone engaging a firm other than Howe & Hummel was surely aware that he was getting second best.

Howe particularly liked to show he was tops, sporting diamonds galore to let the people know he was prosperous. He wore them on his fingers, watch chains, shirt studs, cuff buttons—everywhere he could, setting them off with changes of costume designed to fit the occasion. In this respect he was different from his partner: Hummel always wore black and, though somber, was conspicuously tidy. He once told Samuel Adams, when District Attorney William Travers Jerome was after him, "I guess that most of what they say about me is true—I'm a crook and I'm a blackmailer; but there's one thing about me—I'm a neat son-of-a-bitch!"

Both men apparently had criminal instincts. Howe came to this country as a paroled convict, and Hummel was regarded as an accom-

plished pickpocket. Waiting clients must frequently have been astonished by things they saw, for it seems that convicts escaping from the Tombs headed straight for their attorneys' office and were then whisked away to another hideout. Incidentally, no money was kept in this office—probably a sound business policy—though payment had to be made in advance in legal tender. Nor did the firm keep any account books. After business hours the partners met at Pontin's restaurant, where the day's take was dumped from their pockets and divided evenly between the two and all the bookkeeping was done on Pontin's tablecloth.

There was method in all this as it turned out when District Attorney Jerome investigated the firm's part in the Dodge-Morse divorce scandal in 1905—the case which finally resulted in the imprisonment of Hummel and the dissolution of the firm. On subpoenaing the records, Jerome found there were none. They hadn't been destroyed—they simply never existed!

Mr. Rovere has written a very readable story, one which most old New Yorkers will be interested in, and the introduction by Judge Wallace helps wonderfully in the spirit of the thing even if he does say that the tower on old Madison Square Garden is "a replica of the Campanile" and gets a little twisted on other matters!

Ormond Beach, Florida GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

Pirate Laureate: The Life & Legends of Captain Kidd. By WILLIAM HALLAM BONNER. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1947. xvi + 239 pages, biblio., notes, index. $3.00.)

Pirate Laureate by W. H. Bonner deals with the legends surrounding Captain Kidd. These are well explained by the first two sentences of Bonner's Preface: "Back of every great legend lies a dramatic event, a will to believe, and the wagging tongues that shape it to the heart's desire. Once it is well started, nothing can stop it."

The author says that Captain Kidd was more practical than extraordinary in his life. He was a commonplace man married to a wealthy woman, Sarah Bradley Cox Cort. She brought him property on Pearl, Pine, Water, and Wall Streets. The Wall Street property, I believe, is part of what now is the New York Exchange. It is quite appropriate that Captain Kidd formerly owned what is now part of piratical Wall Street.

His integrity and ability as a sea captain qualified him for the suppression of piracy and for privateering against the King's enemies, France and Spain. As this was desired by the government, a commission was given him for this purpose in the late 1690's, Robert Livingston going on his bond for the faithful performance of this commission to suppress piracy.

To understand how Captain Kidd turned from being a legally appointed privateer into a pirate is simple. Beside the rightful pursuits,

almost everybody who had a privateer's license in those days went in for a little piracy on the side. There was no law this side of the Atlantic to bring pirates to justice. If they were tried, England was their place of trial. This was expensive and a certain amount of piracy was almost universally practiced among the seafaring men of that day. Very few pirates, if any, were apprehended. In my memory, Captain Kidd was the only one. When he brought back from his cruise to Madagascar an illegally captured East Indian prize, the *Quadagh Merchant*, he seems to have roamed from Philadelphia to Boston, stopping at Gardiner's Island and other places where it has since been rumored he buried vast treasures.

The sad and interesting fact about Kidd's ultimate end is that backers in his adventures were prominent Whigs, to wit: William, Earl of Portland; John, Lord Somers; Edward, Earl of Orford; and Charles, Lord Halifax. The Tories, who were then in power, exploited Kidd's trial for political purposes. Free pardon was given all other pirates with the exception of Kidd. The trial was unfair. The proof of his having captured French ships was suppressed and much was made of the accidental killing by Kidd of his gunner, William Moore. It is hard to conceive how a murder could have been made out of Kidd's throwing a bucket at an insolent member of his crew. The bucket was thrown in answer to rude language on the part of the gunner and shouldn't have done more than stun him. The man, however, was in bad health and died from the effect of the blow and his sickness. When this startling charge of murder was made against Kidd, he knew that his goose was cooked and that the cards were stacked against him. Hundreds of sea captains in New York at this time had done far greater misdeeds along the lines of piracy and general misconduct than Kidd; these were men in high places, the Livingstons, Marstons, and many others.

The hanging of Captain Kidd gave him a permanent place in American folklore. Irving, Cooper, Defoe, Poe, and Stevenson built up the mythical legends of pirate heroes, taking this and that from the misdeeds of all of the pirates and the fantasy of the Flying Dutchman and the Faust myth of the Devil granting certain rights and privileges to an individual in payment for his soul. All of these stories had as a background Captain Kidd and his alleged deeds, true and false.

Two ballads were written about his exploits, one an English and the other an American version. These ballads were sung during the great revival period in 1830 at religious festivals.

Going back to 1830, it is also of interest to note that one of the Senior Societies at Yale in 1832 adopted the Skull and Cross Bones as their emblem and have a much better pirate song than the ones quoted by Mr. Bonner. I would like to quote this song to establish my point but certain restrictions prohibit my doing so.

Step by step Mr. Bonner shows how Captain Kidd became a hero of American folklore. "The imagination of the people and the imagina-

tion of the literary artists were the two phases of human imagination at work on the Kidd story."

New York City STUYVESANT FISH

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes. By JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. xv + 622, xlii pages, illus., index. $5.00.)

The writer of this book admirably succeeds in what he planned, namely, to present "the essential facts in the history of the American Negro from his ancient African beginnings down to the present time . . . with due regard for the forces at work which have affected his development."

In thirty chapters of reasonable length, the author covers all aspects of the life of the American Negro and briefly considers the Negroes of the Caribbean and of Latin America. In the first three chapters he discusses the African background of the American Negro, showing that the many elements of its varied civilization were transplanted along with the African in the New World. Survivals of such elements can be seen even today in the language, folktales, religion, work, play, social organization, and artistic representations of the American Negro.

The first Negroes in America were those who came with the European explorers. There were some thirty with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific. One of those with Cortés when he went into Mexico planted and harvested the first wheat crops of the New World; and, according to the author, the Negroes with the expeditions of Almagro and Valdivia saved their Spanish masters from the Indians in 1525.

The slave trade was responsible for the "expatriation of millions of Negroes from the continent of Africa in less than four centuries." Dr. Franklin characterizes this phenomenal commerce as "one of the most far reaching and drastic social revolutions in the annals of history." It left Africa "impotent, stultified and aged." The story of the "iniquitous" traffic and of the consequent integration of the Negro into the various communities of the Americas constitutes the most challenging reading to careful historians of Negro life and history.

This compendium of important facts illuminating the origins and development of countless organizations, institutions, and movements also contains statistical material and citations of places and events which are interwoven with pertinent information and analyses concerning sociological, economic, and cultural affairs.

Throughout the book Dr. Franklin has shown the difficulties the Negro has encountered for three centuries in his effort to live in two worlds—his own apart from the "dominant group" in the community and in the larger white world where some participation has been inevitable. Educational progress of the Negro through segregated institutions of higher

education illustrates the first of these conditions. Such institutions have increased from one in 1854 to more than one hundred. They are still the backbone of Negro education in the United States. On the other hand, recent years have seen considerable employment of Negro teachers in white institutions of higher learning with even greater proportional increase of Negro students there enrolled.

The book includes many interesting references to the history of the Negro in New York. The author points out that while slavery was recognized as a legitimate institution in 1684, free Negroes were numerous even during slavery times and were actively engaged in many occupations. In 1837 they owned in New York City $400,000 worth of taxable real estate and had $600,000 on deposit in savings banks. They founded an African theater as early as 1821. New York City was also the scene of a fully organized black insurrection in the spring of 1712. It has been the meeting place of many anti-slavery and Negro conventions as well as the birthplace of certain important literary, artistic, and musical events.

The scholarly, clear, and comprehensive manner in which the varied materials in this book are presented makes it the best available historical study on the Negro. The time and labor involved in writing the book were considerable. It should be of inestimable value to the teacher, student, and research worker.

The physical make-up of the book is good and it contains a number of interesting illustrations, a helpful section of bibliographical notes, and an excellent index.

Dr. Franklin has, besides his excellent academic qualifications, several years of experience as a teacher and public lecturer on Negro history. He is the author of *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* published at Chapel Hill in 1943 and the editor of *The Diary of James T. Ayres, Civil War Recruiter* published by the Illinois State Historical Society in 1947.

Howard University Library DOROTHY B. PORTER

New York in Literature: The Story Told in the Landmarks of Town and Country. By RUFUS ROCKWELL WILSON, with OTILIE ERICKSON WILSON. (Elmira, N. Y.: The Primavera Press, Inc., 1947. 372 pages; index. $3.75 per copy. Two hundred numbered and autographed copies at $5.00.)

New York in Literature might well have been called "Literary Strolls in Old New York." It is not a textbook; as a matter of fact, the authors immediately take the reader walking with Men of Letters in old Battery Park. "To begin with," one is reminded that "the Battery was a favorite loitering place of young Washington Irving when without set purpose he was making ready for his long career as America's foremost man of

letters. A little later, James Fenimore Cooper, his love for the sea a deep and abiding one, frequently made his way to the Battery to watch the arrival of ships from far places. It had a place as a rule in the week-end rambles which cemented the friendship of Halleck and Drake, and it also knew in other days the footfalls of Morris and Willis. Howells gave the Battery a place in two of his novels . . . and it was while strolling on its sea wall that Epes Sargent found inspiration for his song, 'A Life on the Ocean Wave.'"

Under the same expert guidance, we saunter up to Wall Street where we are reminded of the fact that upon the site of what is now No. 33, Hamilton occupied an office and there wrote fifty-one of the eight-five papers that constitute *The Federalist.*

Also, this time referring to journalism, attention is directed to the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets where, in 1835, James Gordon Bennett launched *The New York Herald*, a small penny sheet. His investment was $500; his sanctum, a one-room office; the outfit, a counter of two wide boards supported by a flour barrel at each end; his slogan, "One man in a cellar against the whole world."

At No. 37 Noah Webster for a time edited *The Mirror*, which had been established in 1823 by George P. Morris and Samuel Woodworth and which had a long, varied and prosperous career. Woodworth is remembered as the author of "Woodman Spare That Tree" and "The Old Oaken Bucket" and Webster as the compiler of the dictionary. In passing, it is interesting to note that Webster greatly admired "New York's absence of affectation and social snobbery."

No 1 Nassau Street fits into the picture as the site where Poe and Charles Frederick Briggs launched the short-lived *Broadway Journal.* But of present-day interest is the existence of a tablet at the northwest corner of Nassau and Ann Streets which records the fact that upon that site in 1844-45 Poe occupied a desk in the editorial office of *The Mirror*, at which time during the noon hour he read to his newspaper acquaintances at a nearby restaurant portions of "The Raven."

In this manner the unique chronology continues its pilgrimage from the Battery to Greenwich Village and the Upper East Side, across to Brooklyn, to Staten Island, to Sleepy Hollow, to Albany, including reference, by the way, to Walt Whitman and other worthies and to Mark Twain's days in Elmira. As to a review of the book in a limited space, it is impossible to furnish more than a mere idea of the plan. Regarding the scope of the work, it must suffice to admire the amazing number of noteworthy literati, men and women, their various activities, achievements and experiences, their observations and philosophical utterances and altogether the sustained interesting and comprehensive character of the text.

New York City ALBERT ULMANN

The First Captain: The Story of John Paul Jones. By Gerald W. Johnson. (New York: Coward-McCann, 1947. 312 pages. $3.50.)

The two hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Paul Jones was a fitting time for this challenging revaluation of his contributions to the naval traditions of our country. Historians and biographers have in large measure overlooked the author's thesis as stated on the jacket: "As a fighter . . . he was so dazzling that his contemporaries could see him as little else, and they hampered and frustrated his main effort in life—to create a great naval service."

The relevance of such a theme is easily discernible. We are led to see that as inspirational as Jones the fighter has always been, it was Jones the professional naval-career man who had the most to offer to future generations. He advanced and fought for the ideal of naval service as a profession; as an end in itself, standing on its own merits, neither as an adjunct to a political career, nor a preparation for one.

Through the early career of John Paul, from his native Kirkcudbright in Scotland, to the two unfortunate affairs in Tobago, British West Indies, we watch the psychological maturation of the headstrong young captain. When he felled the mutineer with his sword that day in 1773 he also felled his own good name and prospects for a fortune. The next twenty months were the acid test of his character. "What can never be explained is the strength that enabled this man, apparently headed straight for ruin, to turn about and head the other way."

"From the darkness John Paul Jones emerged into the light again, master of himself. He could still act on misinformation and act as insanely as any idiot. But he never again acted on a misapprehension of his own strength. . . . He could still make a fool of himself over a woman. He was still capable of mistaking a traitor for an honest man and vice versa. But about one man he was mistaken no more" . . . himself. "Therefore he was ready for command. He was ready for more than that—he was ready to demonstrate what command should be."

The recounting in detail of the naval actions for which Jones became justly famous in his own day is refreshing for it is cast in the light of the author's thesis concerning Jones the man and his ideal of professionalism. His successive commands of the *Providence*, *Alfred*, *Ranger*, *Bon Homme Richard*, *Serapis*, *Ariel*, are analyzed with all their brilliant successes and frequent heartbreaks. We watch the tragedy of his experience in Russia and the pathos of the days which followed until the end in his Paris room, July 18, 1792.

Many breezy characterizations give life and color to the book. One of these concerns Robert Morris, the financier who supported Jones when politically ambitious naval men were attempting to strangle his career. "Robert Morris had the nerve of D'Artagnan and the luck of the devil; his partners ran a grave risk of death by heart failure, but if they survived they got rich."

In comparing the courage of Jones with that of his friend Benjamin Franklin, the latter does not suffer for, while Jones was young and full of fire, "One hesitates to claim for him courage any more dashing, dazzling, blinding than belonged to the old baldhead, sick with the stone and feeble with the years, who tottered out to smite the King of England with a lightning rod."

In closing this story of gallantry and frequently thwarted idealism, we are told that "He had a great ideal, but it was not quite great enough. He strove to establish the honor of the naval officer as a professional man, which was a concept too new and perhaps too lofty for the contemporary world to accept; and yet it was not enough to safeguard the individual himself. Professionalism in its highest sense . . . is a splendid ideal and few are they who attain it, either in the navy or anywhere else."

New Jersey State Teachers College W. E. Apgar

A brief, but most complete & true Account of the Settlement of the Ancient Town of Pelham Westchester County, State of New York Known one Time well & favourably as The Lordshipp & Mannour of Pelham Also the Story of the three modern Villages called The Pelhams. Compiled by Lockwood Barr. (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1946. xv + 190 pages, illus., maps, index. $5.00.)

On its title page, Lockwood Barr's *Ancient Town of Pelham* is described as "A brief, but most complete & true Account" of its settlement, supplemented by the story of the three modern villages of the Pelhams—Pelham Manor, Pelham Heights, and North Pelham. His Dedication to the young people of the Pelhams acknowledges this chronicle to be a condensation from previous writings and ancient reference works on the subject. At the same time, in a special Disclaimer, the author assumes no responsibility for the accuracy of the data employed by him.

The book consists of 165 pages of text plus the usual mechanics and illustrations. The latter include a collection of maps dating from 1708. Of the text, 34 pages are devoted to the period prior to the Revolution and they contain a brief account of Anne Hutchinson's massacre by the Indians in 1643, the purchase of the Pelhams by Thomas Pell, a biographical sketch of his nephew and heir, Sir John Pell, together with a discussion of his manor house and of the establishment of New Rochelle by the Huguenots.

In attempting to write a "complete" and "true" account of the settlement of early Pelham, based chiefly on information culled from secondary sources, Mr. Barr has essayed a most difficult task. While his narrative concerning this settlement appears to have been mainly founded on Bolton's estimable *History of Westchester County*, it leaves much to be desired.

As Mr. Barr unfolds his story, Thomas Pell, the son of an English doctor of divinity, emigrated to America in 1635 at the age of twenty-two. Accompanied by his "great rapier," he wandered from place to place, finally settling in the Colony of Connecticut, at a town later known as Fairfield. Single-handed, with no aid save from three English witnesses, he courageously met the Indians and, on November 14, 1654, succeeded in purchasing from them a 9,160-acre tract east of Hutchinson River and extending from Long Island Sound to Mamaroneck, including the offshore islands, the principal ones being City, Hunter, and Travers Islands. With these statements the author submits a photograph of a copy of the 1654 agreement with the Indians which Pell is said to have sent to his relatives in England and to have been only recently discovered. While the writing in the agreement is not very legible, sufficient is clear to show that it bears the date of the "twenty seventh of June 1654"—not November 14th, as appears in Bolton's *Westchester* and the author's narrative; and that, in addition to the names of the three witnesses to the transaction, there is appended thereto the following certificate duly subscribed by Henry Accerly and William Newman: "this wrightinge was Signed & wittnessed Before a great multitude of Indijans & many English we who are under written to testiffy [.]" It is obvious, from the above certificate, that Pell was accompanied by a substantial force of men at the time of the signing of the agreement.

Mr. Barr makes it appear that Pell established a colony under the guns of the Dutch, but when and where, he neglects to say, although the impression is received that it was somewhere in the Pelham area at or about the time of his purchase. With all due respect to the author's fundamental conception in compiling this book, it may be said that if the records of the Town of Westchester, which are available, had been consulted, or if he had delved a little deeper into Bolton's *History*, he would have found that the Indian owners had previously sold the land to the Dutch West India Company of Amsterdam in 1640 and that its deed was duly recorded. Also, that the New Netherland authorities had exercised sovereignty over this territory since that time and had established settlements therein as early as 1643. Moreover, that Pell's 1654 settlement was not made within the Pelhams, but at a place the Dutch called Oost-dorp [East-town] and the English, West Chester. Furthermore, that the Dutch had not only remonstrated against this encroachment of the English, but had arrested and imprisoned twenty-three of the settlers, releasing them only upon their taking an oath of allegiance to the New Netherland Government. And that among those released was Thomas Newman, the father of William, whose name is subscribed to the certificate appended to Pell's agreement with the Indians.

In his desire for condensation, Mr. Barr creates a false impression when he says that *after* the English assumed possession of New Amsterdam in September 1664, certain residents of West Chester surrendered to Pell

"all rights to a tract of land . . . west of the Hutchinson River." Aside from the fact that this surrender related solely to the lands at West Chester and occurred on June 15, 1664, three months *prior* to the English taking over the Dutch possessions, the picture painted by the author might have been more complete and comprehensive if he had not omitted certain important facts affecting the transaction: for example, that in a writing dated the following day but probably executed simultaneously with the surrender agreement Pell permitted the inhabitants to remain in possession of their property and to enjoy the fruits of their labors; also, that the English settlers, led by seditious residents and encouraged by Connecticut officials, were, at the time, in revolt against the Dutch government. If these facts had been shown, the reader might have drawn the conclusion that the two documents mentioned were the result of collusion between the parties, and were made solely for the purpose of aiding Pell in his claim to the land. Support of such a finding appears a few years later when the Court of Assizes decided that the title of the Dutch preceded Pell's and that his claim to the lands of West Chester, East Chester, and Cornell's Neck was without merit.

In 1666 a royal patent was issued to Pell by the then Governor, Richard Nicolls, confirming—so the author states—Pell's Indian purchase, though to what extent he fails to say. Had Mr. Barr set forth a copy of this important document, the reader would discover that it covered only the tract of land that lay eastward of the bounds of West Chester. While this patent authorized these lands to be held as an "enfranchised township, manor and place itself," it is not clear from the author's account whether Pell ever established a town or manor on the premises. At one time he seems to have had a house at Ann Hook's Neck (Pell's Point), but when this was built does not appear. Probably, it was not constructed until after Pell received his patent, as the author shows he was residing at Fairfield (Conn.) in 1665 and was elected Representative to the General Court from there that year. Moreover, Mr. Barr reveals that Pell died and was interred in Fairfield in 1669.

Upon his death, Thomas Pell left no wife or children, and, by his will, his lands were devised to his nephew, John Pell, the son of his brother, the Rev. John Pell, D.D. A biographical sketch of this nephew and an account of the site upon which he is alleged to have built his manor house is given by the author. This Pell became the recipient of a royal patent from Governor Thomas Dongan in 1687 by which the lands he inherited from his uncle were incorporated into the "lordship and manner of Pelham." Thus he became the first lord of the Manor of Pelham, but, as Mr. Barr reports, being the second owner of the land he is usually referred to as the second lord.

While the year 1687 saw the establishment of the Manor of Pelham, 1689, just two years later, marked the initial step in its dissolution. It was then, as the author states, that Sir John Pell, and his wife, Rachel Pickney, sold 6,100 acres of the manor to Jacob Leisler for the purpose of

establishing a refuge for those French Huguenots emigrating to America because of religious persecution in their native land. These emigrants, Mr. Barr continues, had already begun to arrive and, by the time the transaction was consummated, their settlement, called New Rochelle, had well advanced.

Later sales of manor property are reported by the author and the statement is made that at the present time not more than 1,568 acres of the original manor comprise the three Pelhams. These villages, and the principal islands once forming a part of the manor, are described at length, and a biographical sketch is given of some of the owners of these islands. A chapter is also devoted to the battle of Pell's Point in the American Revolution. And, from Mr. Barr's account, it appears that Thomas Pell, the manor's third lord, was the cause of its dissolution, inasmuch as he ignored the English rule of primogeniture and, instead of leaving the land intact to his eldest son, divided it among all his children. Too little information is given concerning this worthy individual who must have been endowed with a great love and sense of justice to have deviated from this well-established English rule. It was his eldest son, Joseph Pell II, who came into possession of the manor house and so is considered by some as the manor's fourth and last lord.

In the opinion of this reviewer this book could be better named. The author has not quite achieved the goal he set out for himself in his *Ancient Pelham.* His story of the early settlement is vague and incomplete. There is also a tendency to be partisan and unduly repetitious in spots. But, when he comes to the story of the three Pelhams, Mr. Barr is more at home. There lies the value of his book. His account of these modern villages is both factual and informative and constitutes a desirable addition to local history.

Scarsdale, N. Y. HARRY C. W. MELICK

Austria from Habsburg to Hitler. Volume I: Labor's Workshop of Democracy. Volume II: Fascism's Subversion of Democracy. By CHARLES A. GULICK. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948. xxv + xi + 1,906 pages, indexed. 2 vols., $20.00.)

An exhaustive study of the economic, social, and political changes within the Austrian republic between World Wars I and II.

Ghosts along the Mississippi. An Essay in the Poetic Interpretation of Louisiana's Plantation Architecture. Introduction, photographs, accompanying text, and epilogue by CLARENCE JOHN LAUGHLIN. (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. 100 plates, indexed. $10.00.)

The record—in magnificent and often highly imaginative photographs by a life-long Louisianian—of a vanished civilization, historico-architecturally and poetically considered.

Abigail Adams. By JANET WHITNEY. (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press—Little, Brown and Company, 1947. xii + 357 pages, illus., notes, biblio., index. $4.00.)

New Letters of Abigail Adams 1788–1801. Edited and with an introduction by STEWART MITCHELL. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. xlii + 281 pages, illus., cal., gen. charts, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Numerous commentators on human nature—*Mrs. Miniver* among them—have complained of the "unevenness" of married couples and the attendant difficulties of making up a dinner party! Therefore we are glad to report that John and Abigail Adams apparently were a sparkling example of that rare phenomenon: a husband and wife equally intelligent and personable and equally dependent one on the other.

Mrs. Whitney's readable yet carefully documented biography of Abigail is necessarily the story of John Adams' rise to eminence as seen through his wife's eyes. The young lawyer Abigail Smith married in 1764, just before her twentieth birthday, seemed to her reluctant mother to be no great match, yet here was a man destined to become a leader in the coming struggle for Independence, diplomat at the courts of Paris, London, and The Hague, Vice-President and then President of a raw new country whose vast potentialities were hardly dreamed of.

The author writes vividly of the couple's first years together when Boston was defying British tyranny as embodied in the Stamp Act and the Townshend Bill. She points out that the two "were not—as were Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams—the type of people naturally thought of as revolutionary." Still, John Adams was drawn inevitably into the circle of outstanding patriots; if he seemed slow in yielding to his cousin Sam's importunities, it was for his family's sake, and Abigail would have none of that.

John Adams' absence from home as delegate to Congress and President of the Board of War meant that Abigail must bear almost the entire burden of rearing four children (one daughter had died), running a farm within earshot of Bunker Hill, and encouraging the young clerks in a neglected law office. Service in Europe from 1778 on involved more years of separation, for long periods without even the letters which were a solace to both husband and wife, and now John had with him the eldest son—that John Quincy who was soon to become famous in his own right. It was the summer of 1784 before Abigail and her daughter sailed to join them, and many a woman in like circumstances has been far outdistanced by her husband socially and mentally, but Abigail Adams held her own in Paris and London. In New York and Philadelphia, as wife of the first Vice-President of the United States, she was a favorite second only to Martha Washington herself while, as First Lady, Abigail was so closely linked with John Adams in the public mind as to share in the abuse heaped upon him increasingly by the Anti-Federalist press.

This is the period treated least satisfactorily by Mrs. Whitney. Understandably, in her anxiety to present John and Abigail in the best possible

light, she is quick to detect chicanery and deceit on the part of their political enemies. Hamilton, who it is hinted would, if he could, have become an American Bonaparte, is dealt with particularly harshly. However, all biographers succumb to the same temptation in greater or lesser degree and, on the whole, Abigail and her John are offered to the reader frankly and with a wealth of colorful detail. Delightfully, too, except that Mrs. Whitney's method of deriving "every sentence of dialogue . . . with little or no change from an authentic written source" sometimes interferes with the easy narrative style she adopts.

A word to the writer of the sub-title on the dust jacket. Abigail Adams was the wife of one President and the mother of another, but she was not "America's first emancipated woman." "By the way," Abigail wrote her husband half jocularly, half seriously, in March 1776, "in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors! Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

But John Adams, though he had not been afraid of intelligence in a wife, only laughed. What next? The time had not yet come when American husbands often were called upon to remind their wives, as did John, that "in practice" men were the "subjects." And—judging from the letters edited by Mr. Mitchell—Abigail seldom gave a thought to the essential injustice of womankind's lot, but was quite content with the subtle influence women are popularly supposed to wield over the impressionable male.

Mr. Mitchell, now Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, believes that Abigail's expressed opinions reflect in large part "the private thoughts and feelings of her husband." Probably he is right; they had always been in perfect agreement on the issues of the day and, as Abigail's life became filled with family and—later—multitudinous social responsibilities, she would naturally tend more and more, if only for lack of time, to accept her political views full-blown from John Adams. Most of the letters in question date from the stormy years of Adams' single term as President. In them we see that Abigail, like other noted men's wives, came to take it for granted that he was invariably on God's side and that all who opposed him were willful, partisan schemers and a menace to the fledgling government.

Included in the Mitchell volume are 141 out of approximately 250 letters which became the property of the American Antiquarian Society in 1942. Published originally in two installments in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1947, they are here made available to a wider public. There are copious footnotes, and the myriad relatives and friends mentioned have been tracked down with care. In contrast to the various collections of

Abigail's correspondence edited by Charles Francis Adams between 1840 and 1876, these pages are honest, accurate transcriptions untouched by misguided attempts at censorship. All are addressed to Mary Smith Cranch of Braintree, Massachusetts, the elder sister with whose fiancé John Adams had first visited the Smith household. In those days Richard Cranch had been considered much the better catch, but the sisters' positions had long been reversed and perhaps Abigail did, as Mitchell implies, enjoy playing Lady Bountiful to a variety of Cranch nieces and nephews with their offspring and sundry old acquaintances.

For, unlike Mrs. Whitney, Mr. Mitchell feels no compulsion in his three-part, twenty-page introduction, to defend John and Abigail Adams particularly. He views them somewhat wryly, in fact, though we dare say Mrs. Whitney would have no more quarrel than we with his comments—except for a few startling notions revealed in passing—on Jefferson, Hamilton, Burr, and other central figures in the bitter political feuds of the Adams era. Our second President and his wife, Mr. Whitney thinks, were inordinately jealous of Washington, and he makes much of Adams' vanity and violent temper. He declares—and here Mrs. Whitney agrees—that both parents spoiled their children and interfered in their adult lives to such an extent that the daughter was never completely happy in her marriage and one son died tragically at the age of thirty. Mr. Mitchell likewise suspects the wife of urging her husband to find room on the public payroll for too many friends and family connections.

Abigail Adams, we hear further, was a "Yankee, born and bred," and for all her success in the *beau monde* "never felt at home anywhere in the world except in her beloved New England." Certainly she harks back nostalgically to Boston manners, Boston preaching, Boston servants, and Boston dinners! But isn't Mr. Mitchell on less certain ground when attributing to a "hideous" form of Puritanism the Adamses' attitudes toward contemporary dress, etiquette, and literature, the French revolutionists and their American sympathizers, and—consequently—the unthinkable election of Jefferson, an unbeliever, to the Presidency?

The reader must go to the letters themselves for his own picture of Abigail Adams. There he will find the countless minutiae of woman-to-woman talk: babies, sickness, fashions, the servant problem, housekeeping, gardening—all interlarded with the latest news of the capital and much about "the Vice-President" or "the President" and their joint worries. "Pray if you have got the Song of Darby and Joan do send it to me," she wrote her sister during a period of name-calling by Benjamin Franklin Bache. Abigail could "recollect but one line in it," but knew the two "were represented as a fond loving conjugal pair."

"Partner" and "dearest friend" she had been all her married life, and so Abigail Adams saw herself even in an enemy's sneering words.

The New-York Historical Society ELIZABETH MARTING

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

ACTIVITIES at The New-York Historical Society during the early months of 1948 were as numerous as they were diverse. In addition to the regular series of monthly lectures and programs for members and their friends, the Society's facilities were used frequently by kindred organizations for meetings and visits to the Museum. Then too, educational activities continued. Not only were Saturday-morning high-school history programs well attended, but also numerous visits were made by elementary-school classes, many of which received illustrated talks in conjunction with gallery tours. The following is a list of the more prominent activities occurring between January and April:

January 3: Meeting of the American Association of University Women, with a talk and gallery visit conducted by Miss Barck.

January 6: Meeting of the National Council of Jewish Women.

January 8: Reception and tea in honor of Sir Francis Evans, British Consul General at New York, on which occasion he presented on behalf of the British Admiralty four copperplates originally used in the publication of *The Atlantic Neptune*, an atlas compiled by Joseph F. W. Des Barres in London during the years 1774–1781 for use by the British Navy during the Revolutionary War. Also present at the reception were Dr. and Mrs. Fenwick Beekman, Dr. and Mrs. LeRoy E. Kimball, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Streeter, Mr. and Mrs. John V. Irwin, Mr. and Mrs. Louis C. Wills, Mr. Stephen H. P. Pell, and Mr. and Mrs. R. W. G. Vail. Mrs. Beekman poured. An exhibition of the copperplates and of the Society's copy of *The Atlantic Neptune* was installed in the main-floor corridor, to remain through March 28th.

January 13: A program for members of the Society and friends, devoted to the nickelodeon, with the showing of seven early cinematographic productions.

January 17: Meeting of The New York Folklore Society. Speakers included Dr. Louis C. Jones, Dr. Marion W. Starling, Dr. M. Jagendorf, Bobby Evans, Dr. Rachel D. Du Bois, and Mrs. Edith W. May. Dr. Harold W. Thompson presided.

January 21: Meeting of the New York League of Women Voters.

January 23: Meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America. Among the speakers were Donald C. Gallup and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

January 24: Meeting of the Oberlin Women's Club, with movies and a talk by Mr. Wall.

January 29: First meeting of an eight-week course conducted by City College on the "Art of Sketching."

February 1: Meeting of the Steamship Historical Society of America. Address by Fred C. Dayton.

February 3: A lecture for members and their friends on "Historic Quilts" by Mrs. Florence Peto, followed by a private showing of the special exhibition, AMERICAN QUILTS, which opened to the public the following day.

February 5: Transfer of the Society's traveling school exhibit to James Madison High School, Brooklyn.

February 21: Special program for history students of Walton High School, including a talk on "Early America," a gallery tour, and a showing of the film: *18th Century Life in Williamsburg, Virginia.*

February 27: Meeting of the New York Library Club.

February 28 and March 20: High-school history programs on "How Early America Lived," a gallery tour, and showings of the film *Courageous Mr. Penn,* starring Clifford Evans and Deborah Kerr.

March 2: A lecture for members of the Society and their friends by Commander Donald B. MacMillan on "North-Far North with MacMillan." The lecture was illustrated with color motion pictures. Members of Miss Cromen's class at St. John's University, studying "The Library in Contemporary Society," met at the Society where Miss Barck, the Librarian, spoke to them about the Society's manuscripts, newspaper, and other library collections.

March 5: Transfer of the Society's traveling school exhibition to Bushwick High School, Brooklyn.

March 8: Installation of a permanent exhibition of pictures and memorabilia pertaining to Castle Garden, tracing its history from its inception as Southwest Battery through its last days as the Aquarium.

March 12: Opening of the special exhibition, BIG SNOWS—1888 AND 1947, to continue through April 4th.

March 13: Program for the Educational Division of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, including a talk by Mr. Wall and the showing of the film: *18th Century Life in Williamsburg, Virginia.*

March 17: Members' preview of the special exhibition, ATMOSPHERIC LANDSCAPES OF NORTH AMERICA BY GEORGE HARVEY, which opened to the public the following day to remain on view through April 25th.

March 31: Ceremony of bestowal of Crosses of Military Service on Gen. Lucius D. Clay and eight World War II veterans by the New York Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Individual staff members continued to be active in projects allied to historical interests outside of the Society. Mr. Shelley was invited again this year to lecture before the Art Department of the Garden City Community Club on January 14th, when he spoke on "John James Audubon and his Watercolors for the 'Birds of America.'" He also spoke before members and guests at the annual meeting of the Lehigh County Historical Society at Allentown, Pennsylvania, on January 16th, on "Penn-

sylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts." Miss Marting contributed a feature article, "Of American Quilts and Quilters," to the March issue of *The American Collector* on the Society's special exhibition of AMERICAN QUILTS. Mr. Carlson continued as Secretary of the Geography Group of the New York Chapter, Special Libraries Association, which met at this Society on March 2d for a business meeting, following which they were invited to join members of the Society in hearing the lecture by Commander MacMillan. Miss Barck, as chairman of the Museum Group of this organization, presided at a meeting held at the Jewish Museum on February 17th. Dr. Stephen S. Kayser, its curator, escorted them through the galleries.

A number of new appointments and changes in staff positions were made during the past several months. Mr. Nutzhorn, former Acting Curator of Manuscripts was appointed to the newly created post of Curator of Photographs, thus fulfilling a need felt for many years. Under his charge have been placed the Society's collections of negatives and lantern slides, totaling many thousands, which in the course of time will be more completely catalogued and identified. Mr. Donald Sheehan has been employed to fill the post of Curator of Manuscripts. Miss Ezequelle was recently appointed Assistant Curator of Maps and Prints and Miss Marting was named Assistant Editor. Miss Roberta M. Paine has become associated with the Society as Assistant to the Curator of Paintings and Sculpture and Miss Charlotte R. Stout joined the staff as Assistant in Education and Public Relations. Mr. Thomas C. Hughes was employed to fill the position of Library Assistant in charge of Newspapers, filling the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Hofstrom, and Miss Ilse Hess joined the staff as Secretary in the Director's Office, replacing Miss Dunker, who resigned.

Future events at the Society include an illustrated lecture on Tuesday evening, April 6th, by Captain Bob Danskin on "Yankee Whaling"; an illustrated talk on Tuesday, May 4th, by Mrs. Pauline Dakin Taft, entitled "Social Life in the 1880's," concerning an unusual collection of "candid" photographs made in the Cherry Valley region of New York during this period; and the Annual Strawberry Festival and entertainment on Monday afternoon, June 7th, when Mr. Warren Lee Terry will present a program on "Gilbert and Sullivan in Song and Story."

RECENT ACCESSIONS

THREE photographs of Emma Cecilia Thursby, two inscribed to her pupil, Mrs. Eugenie (Baylis) Abbott, mother of the donor; program of testimonial concert in honor of Emma C. Thursby at the Metropolitan Opera House, February 1886. *Gift of Mr. Gregory Abbott.*

Model of "Mansewood," Hyde Park, New York, formerly the manse of St. James' Church there. *Gift of Mrs. Eleanor Allison in memory of Mr. Francis Griswold Landon.*

Catskill Landscape, oil on wood panel, by A. D. O. Browere. *Gift of an anonymous donor.*

Miniatures on ivory of Gerard De Peyster (1776-1824), son of James W. De Peyster and Anna De Peyster, by an unidentified artist, and of Mrs. Gerard De Peyster (1774-1815), daughter of John De Peyster and Elizabeth Haring, painted in 1798 by Charles Willson Peale and described in the artist's diary. *Gift of Mr. Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr.*

Colored photograph of the home of Joseph Cudlipp, the donor's grandfather, at Bloomingdale Road (now Broadway) and 76th Street, built before 1851 and demolished *c.* 1872. *Gift of Mrs. Wilhelmine C. Brown.*

Two 19th-century works on American architecture; 4 volumes and 12 pamphlets of New York City historical interest, and a collection of New York City theater programs. *Gift of Mr. Harold M. Brummer.*

Group of 2,921 amateur periodicals, 1846-1947, and 74 pieces of ephemera by, about, and for amateur journalists. *Gift of Mr. Edward H. Cole, President of "The Fossils" (Amateur Journalists of the Past).*

Snuff boxes, revolvers, and child's chair, late 19th-century, owned by members of the donor's family; 2 photographs and a daguerreotype of members of the Holley family. *Gift of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot.*

Collection of 550 picture postcards: railroad stations, shops, and hotels, the majority in New York and New Jersey. *Gift of Mrs. Byron Dexter.*

Eleven watercolors of *Atmospheric Landscapes of North America* as listed on pages 111–113 and discussed in Mr. Shelley's article on the Society's current exhibition of Harvey's works (p. 104). *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap.*

Oil portrait of Benjamin G. Edmonds (1821-1895), father of the donor and member of the Brooklyn City Cadets, Company E, 13th Regiment, painted by Seymour J. Guy; epaulettes, sword belt, and sword worn in the portrait, and a presentation sword and scabbard presented to the subject by the Brooklyn City Cadets on March 4, 1856; 6 related manuscripts and documents. *Gift of Mr. Charles G. Edmonds.*

Cartoon: "To Brother Johnathan," drawn in 1901. *Gift of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish.*

Archives of the "Bourse Gallatin," 1821-1887, with a copy of the will

of François Gallatin, its founder, 1699; 41 letters to and from Albert Rolaz Gallatin; 15 letters to and from James Gallatin and Albert Horatio Gallatin, and other archives of the Gallatin family. *Gift of Mr. A. E. Gallatin.*

Group of 188 postcards, all United States views. *Gift of Major Lester D. Gardner.*

Collection of over 500 Civil War lithographs and engravings, including battle scenes, camps, and portraits. *Gift of Mr. Henry O. Havemeyer.*

Marble bust of William Warner Hoppin, father of the donor, as a boy, by Chauncey B. Ives, 1846. Gift of *The Honorable William Warner Hoppin.*

Incidents of Travel, by John Lloyd Stephens, 1839; photographs, taken by the donor, of old houses on North Moore Street in 1914 and of Synagogue Zichron Epraim on East 67th Street in 1917, together with 63 prints of New York City views and other American scenes. *Gift of Mr. John V. Irwin.*

The Young Lady's Book, 7th edition (Boston: 1840). *Gift of Mrs. John V. Irwin.*

Niagara: The American Falls, by Alvin Fisher (1792–1863), painted in 1821. *Gift of Mr. Arthur A. Jones.*

Map of the Village of Mott-Haven in the Town of Morrisania, 1864. *Gift of Miss Sybil Kent Morse.*

Histoire . . . des Iles Antilles, by Charles de Rochefort (Rotterdam: 1665); Bible printed in London in 1599; New Testament in Danish, printed at Copenhagen in 1781; engraved portrait of Major General Artemas Ward (S. A. Schoff and T. Kelley, engravers); membership certificate of George Sawyer in the Bunker Hill Monument Association; receipt signed by Ralph Waldo Emerson, and an etched portrait of Emerson. *Gift of Mrs. Fanny Shapiro.*

Three watercolors by J. W. Hill: *Landscape*, *Bird's Nest and Flowers*, and *Still Life*. *Gift of Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr.*

Six glass photographic negatives made by J. Reid of Paterson, New Jersey, 1870–1880. *Gift of Mr. A. J. Sluyter.*

Civil War cap, sword, and sash worn by the donor's father, Major Anthony Wills, 28th Regiment, Brooklyn, New York. *Gift of Mr. Louis Charles Wills.*

Oil on cardboard: *A Privateersman Ashore*, by Howard Pyle, 1893; bronze bust of Herbert Hoover, June 1921, by Bryant Baker; an etching by Paul F. Berdanier, and three volumes of American historical interest. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

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